





ENGLAND'S PROGRESS

1793-1921

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To
MY WIFE



PREFACE

This brief survey of England's Progress during the past century is based on secondary sources. A list of the books used is given at the end of the compilation, and indebtedness to their authors is hereby acknowledged. References are given at the close of each chapter. The hope is entertained that the reading of this sketch may lead some at least to look in the larger volumes for fuller light on the subjects treated here.

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CHAPTER I

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND

Students of this period, though differing in their estimate of the age as a whole, some making most of its brighter, others of its darker features, still are well agreed in their interpretations of several phases of its life.

The century was certainly marked by a display of strong intellectual vigor. The Age of Anne, 1702-1714, has been called the Augustan age of English literature.¹ Pope, Swift, Addison and Defoe knew how to make their pens useful to the politicians who had patronage to distribute. The Government in Anne's time, as in the time of the Cæsars, took pride in lavishing lucrative appointments and honors upon men of letters. In the "Spectator," the "Tattler," the "Guardian," and the "Craftsman" may be recognized the earlier forms of the modern magazine, newspaper and political pamphlet. There appeared in this century the famous essayist, Samuel Johnson; the play-writers Goldsmith, Sheridan, Foote, and Howe; the novelists Henry Fielding, Smollett, Samuel Richardson, Fanny Burney, and Maria Edgeworth; the poets Edward Young and James Thomson, the author of "Rule Britannia"; the noted lyricist and

satirist, Robert Burns; the hymn-writers Watts, Wesley, Fletcher and Toplady; the moral and political philosophers Samuel Clarke, Joseph Butler, Locke, Paley, Jeremy Bentham and Blackstone; the classical scholar Richard Bentley; the scientists John Ray, the zoologist, Joseph Priestley, the discoverer of oxygen, Joseph Black, the chemist of quantitative analysis fame, and Edmund Halley who first calculated the comet's orbit; the actors Garrick, Macklin, and Kemble; the economists Adam Smith, Tucker, and Malthus; the historians David Hume and Gibbons; the architects William Chambers, Wyatt, and Robert Taylor; the genius William Hogarth, whose engravings and paintings enable one to see the London life of his day; the painters of historical pictures West, Barry, and Copley; the famous portrait and landscape painters Reynolds, Gainsborough, Romney, Wilson and Barrett; the inventors Kay who devised the flying-shuttle, Hargreaves the "Spinning Jenny," Arkwright the "spinning frame," Crompton the "spinning mule" which combined the principles of former machines, Cartwright the power loom, James Watt the steam-engine, and Josiah Wedgwood, who devised a new superior earthenware well suited for busts, medallions, and cameos, as well as for pottery. In the latter part of the century the English theatre was encouraged and elevated, the *Encyclopædia Britannica* completed, circulating libraries first established, book-clubs formed among the more fashionable classes, and a children's literature produced.

'Tis true that during the reigns of George I and George II, 1714-1760, and especially under Robert Walpole's administration which covers most of this period, "knights of the pen" were not favored by the Govern-

ment so much as in the reign of Anne; and since the reading public was not large, owing in part to the fact that books as yet were costly, authors did not prosper. But nevertheless, writers multiplied—minor bards, pamphleteers, and reviewers. They prepared sermons for lazy and incompetent parsons;² they translated and annotated classical works for bookdealers; they wrote prefaces, prologues, dedications for books, computed indexes and almanacs, and contributed poems, advertisements, and puffs to the papers. The literary output was plentiful, though much of it was inferior in quality, many of the novels of the circulating libraries being mere trash full of maudlin sentimentality and of sexual improprieties, revolting to a sound moral sense.

The age was militant and combative in spirit, full of action. Throughout well nigh the entire period the English naval or military forces were engaged in warfare with some foreign power. The public purse was being constantly drained for military enterprises, needless or wise; reports of brilliant victories and glorious actions by land or sea were frequent, warming the nation's blood and exalting martial pride; wars and rumors of wars filled the public mind. In 1703 the English army under Marlborough with Austria's aid was attempting to wrest the Spanish dominions from Philip. In 1704 the French and Bavarians were beaten by Marlborough at Blenheim, and in the same year Gibraltar was captured, and the city of Barcelona in Spain taken. "Marlborough defeated in 1706 Villeroi at Ramillies in Belgium, in 1708 Marshall Vendome at Oudenarde on the Scheldt, and in 1709 Villars at Malplaquet in Flanders."³ In 1718 and again in 1739 England was at war with Spain. In 1742 the nation became involved in

the War of the Austrian Succession, and in 1743 at Dettingen defeated the French and Bavarians. In 1756 was commenced the seven-year struggle, in which England won Canada from the French, and laid the foundation of the British Empire in India. In 1757 Robert Clive recaptured Calcutta and won the battle of Plassey. In 1761 Sir Eyre Coote destroyed the French power in India by capturing Pondicherry, and in Quiberon Bay was gained an important victory over the French navy. In 1762 England was victorious in a war with Spain. From 1776 to 1782 England was at war with the American colonies. From 1790 to 1792 there were conflicts in Hindustan, and in 1799 was terminated the war in the Carnatic. In 1794 the English took from the French Toulon, Corsica and several of the West India Islands. In 1798 Admiral Nelson destroyed the French fleet in Aboukir Bay and checked Napoleon who was bent upon gaining Egypt and winning India.

England had frequently to meet attempts at invasion during this century. In 1715 the Stuart heir to the throne made a futile attempt to gain the crown, and a quarter of a century later the Young Pretender made an abortive effort. A Spanish fleet bent upon the invasion of England was defeated in 1797. Rumors of formidable invasions by France were frequent; in 1756, 1759, 1779, 1782, 1783, 1796 and 1798. With military engagements so frequent, enemies so numerous, and dangers so imminent it is not surprising to find that martial zeal and the fighting spirit were strongly developed in the nation as a whole.

The practice of duelling, "the reigning curse of the age," grew in part out of this high-strung combative spirit. In the latter part of the century, 1760-1800,

were recorded for England alone fifty-three duels. The Right Hon. Wm. Pitt, the Earl of Lonsdale, Lord Townshend, the famous John Wilkes and Lord Byron were leading public men who fought in duels.

Sociability, pleasure-seeking and conviviality were characteristic features of the life of the 18th century. It was computed that in London alone even in the earlier years of the eighteenth century there were about two thousand coffee-houses, and in their frequenters was represented every class, business and profession known to the country. The coffee-house was a long room, partitioned off into rows and rows of boxes, separated by a central aisle, which were filled day and night with guests of different sorts and conditions, sipping a cup of coffee or tea, reading the journals and periodicals, writing letters and above all else discussing politics. Clubs were numberless, and of every conceivable nature and purpose, ranging from Sir Joshua Reynolds' Literary Club, where men like Samuel Johnson and Edmund Burke met for serious discussion of subjects in science, art, and literature, to the fraternities for amusement and banqueting, such as "The Nonsense Club" and the "No Pay No Liquor Club." Excessive drinking and reckless gambling⁴ were widely prevalent. Persons of both sexes and of all ages from fifteen to eighty had the vicious habit, some parties assembling to spend whole nights in games of chance; and among the rich and high-born the stakes were high. Charles Fox lost at cards 12,000 pounds one night, and 12,000 more the next afternoon; a lady lost one night "3,000 guineas at loo." The state patronized lotteries in order to raise revenue for the crown; and thus had some share in infecting the nation with the spirit of reckless speculation and stock-jobbery.

The collapse of the notorious South Sea Company of 1720, that had secured from the government a charter for exclusive privileges for trading with the Spanish American possessions in return for relieving the state of certain big debts, was a national calamity inflicting heavy losses on both the government and the people. The company was typical of many another get-rich-quick concern founded on unsound business and financial principles whose shares of stock promoters were selling in Exchange Alley to the gullible public crazed with the fever of speculation. To drink heavily seems to have been good form, the amount of intoxicating liquors one could hold and still "keep his legs" being regarded as a rude test of manliness.⁵ The royal princes, the nobility, the members of Parliament, the gentry, and the ladies of fashion worshipped Bacchus to the tune of three to six bottles at a sitting, and the professional, business and laboring classes were not far behind in their devoted libations. Copious and constant were the streams of champagne, rum, wine, beer, ale, gin and many another intoxicant pouring in tavern, inn and public-house. In 1752 the Bishop of Gloucester wrote "Those accursed spirituous liquors which, to the shame of our Government, are so easily to be had, and in such quantities drunk, have changed the very nature of our people. And they will, if continued to be drunk, destroy the very race of the people themselves."⁶ In 1750 the average consumption per head was six times what it is today.

The drinking habit must account in a degree for the coarse, violent and brutal manners of the period. The age lacked refinement. The profanity of the men of fashion, the oaths of the gentler sex, the obscenity of the popular novels, the immodesty of the theatrical per-

formances, the stupid practical jokes played, the vulgarity of general conversation, all attest the rudeness of the times. The treatment of criminals and the character of the amusements and pastimes of the common people, such as bull-fights, bear-baiting, cock-fights, and encounters in the prize ring between women as well as men, bear like testimony.

The treatment of criminals was extremely inhumane. The worst offenders were sometimes pressed to death with heavy weights, or were quartered, strangled or burnt. The "hanging matches" were public spectacles drawing great crowds who made holiday out of the occasion. And the hangings were frequent. To pick a pocket of even a few pennies, to steal from a dwelling house a handful of shillings, to steal a sheep, or to take cloth from a bleaching ground, were capital offenses. When Robert Peel in the next century undertook the reform of the criminal code he found that there were 223 offenses—many of quite minor turpitude—declared to be felonies punishable with death. To become involved in debt or to fall behind in payment of rent was often punished by imprisonment and to go to jail was to run the risk of being starved, or bitten by rats in some fetid dungeon or of catching some loathsome, contagious disease, such as smallpox or jail-fever. The fearful conditions of the English jails were revealed to the world by John Howard.⁷ From the time he was appointed High Sheriff of Bedford in 1773 until his death in 1790 he devoted his life to the one subject, prison reform. The abuses he found were numerous: no regular allowance of food or of bedding, no sewers, no fireplaces, no infirmaries, no proper ventilation, no sufficient supply of water for drinking or washing. He computed that every year

jail-fever carried away more people than the gallows. The prisons were not only hotbeds of disease but also schools of vice; for in them no discrimination was made on account of age, sex, or character but all alike, men and women, boys and girls, first offenders and old hardened criminals, debtors and felons were crowded together, a condition resulting in general and thorough contamination. In some places the jails belonged to private individuals, who would extort what they could from prisoners and the prisoners' friends. In country jails which were not strongly built heavy chains, iron collars with spikes and heavy iron bars were sometimes used to secure the inmates. Such was the case in 1768 in the jail of Ely which belonged to the bishop. In the out-of-the-way districts several relics of barbarism lingered, such as the pruning-knife for cutting off a culprit's ears, a kind of scissors for slitting his nostrils, an "iron for searing the wounds," the "tumbril" and the "brank" or "gossip's bridle." The "ducking-stool" and the pillory were employed as means of correction, and to the whipping post were sent women as well as men offenders. In 1716 was the last judicial execution for witchcraft in England but fifteen years later there was a case of trying a witch by the mediæval method of water ordeal. Lunacy was considered and punished as crime. The prisoner at the bar often suffered injustice by reason of the facts that the laws defining crimes and penalties were most inconsistent and confusing; and that too much discretion and power in determining punishment lay with the justices who as a class were woefully ignorant of the body of the law and whose decisions were sometimes determined by bribes.

An evil of the later years of the century was the un-

restricted employment of children in factories and mines. The children in the workhouses and in the charitable institutions were hired out to the managers of the factories and were worked from 12 to 16 hours a day. Many thousands of small boys and girls were put under heartless masters whose sole purpose was to make money and who drove them in their work to the utmost limit of endurance. Falling to sleep at their work from over-fatigue, the children were often caught in the machinery and maimed for life. Destitute and dissolute parents were ready for small sums of money to enslave for years their offspring. The physical and moral injuries attending such a system of labor must have at all times been patent enough to any thoughtful observer, but the century closed before the fate of the children of the poor touched the heart of the nation. The establishment of the public schools in which they may be found to-day belongs to the nineteenth century.

Another class of human beings for whose "welfare no man cared" were the thousands of negro slaves, manacled and packed away in the close holds of vessels, being carried to the Spanish, French, and English colonists. From 1676 to 1776 it has been computed that about three millions of Africans were shipped to America, and that a quarter of a million more perished on the voyage over. The English slave trade had begun as early as 1562 when John Hawkins carried 300 negroes from Sierra Leone to Hispaniola.⁸ The nefarious traffic was defended partly on the ground that the negroes would be better off in America than in Africa, that they were exchanging savagery for civilization, heathenism for Christianity. What supported the trade so long was the enormous profits yielded. To the conservative

and practical mind of the eighteenth century a branch of commerce so lucrative and so long established appeared as a blessing pure and simple, an indispensable support of the British navy.

The age was materialistic and uninformed with the spirit of idealism. Reforms and innovations were feared, the sentiment "What is right" prolonging the days of many an abuse. The political world was notoriously corrupt. It was a time of factions, cliques, and intense partisanship when fierce jealousies were rife and contests were filled with violence and acrimony. Numerous sinecures and lavish patronage were bestowed for advancing party interests and bribing at elections was universally practiced. George III maintained a corruption fund of many thousand pounds with which to buy the borough seats in Parliament. Carousing, street-fighting, breaking of heads, burning of polling-stations, and smashing windows were not unusual features of a hotly contested election.

Among the aristocracy, cynicism, selfishness, expediency and skepticism ruled, while in all orders laxity of morals and disregard of religious principles prominently appeared. In high society conjugal infidelity and dissoluteness were openly countenanced. In the royal family were several conspicuous scandals, and among the parliamentary leaders were some who practiced open concubinage. The life of the church was decadent: it lacked faith and gave no message of compelling power. Sermons were cold, formal, literary disquisitions wanting in heart, fervor, and prophetic fire. Enthusiasm was purposely avoided as dangerous and wrong. One minister exhorts against "over-shooting ourselves even in the pursuits of virtues. Whether zeal or moderation be

the point we aim at, let us keep fire out of one and frost out of the other." Miss Wedgewood says, "Those words are the motto of the Church of the eighteenth century.'⁹ The Methodist and Evangelical movements, with their earnest proclamation of the necessity of conversion, of justification by faith, and of taking the Bible as the rule of life, came not until in the later years of the century and as a reaction against the earlier low state of religion and morals.

In the Anglican Church of the eighteenth century the political views held and one's party or personal connections rather than piety or fitness of character for office usually determined the appointments to the more important ecclesiastical dignities. The bishops often converted their offices into sinecures not residing in their dioceses and resting content with occasional hurried visitations, and the administration at appointed times of the rites of confirmation and ordination. Since many parochial endowments and the salaries yielded were small, there arose too the evil of holding several benefices by one and the same incumbent. The "tenure of a bishopric was not considered incompatible with the tenure of a deanery, a canonry, or a prebendal stall,"¹⁰ the church dignitary drawing the incomes from several holdings, though having most of the work done by some underpaid subordinate.

The ignorance of the masses in this age appears in their credulity and superstition. They believed in divination, astrology, ghosts, the "royal touch" for healing and in the use of surgery and charms. Life was narrow and provincial, lacking in intellectual intercourse, travel and exchange from district to district. The roads in winter were horrible. Unpaved, insecure from attacks

of highwaymen, and at times impassable in places they prohibited much intercommunication. The farmers, humble cottagers, artisans and laborers spent their years, as was the wont of their fathers before them, in agricultural toil or specific trades, their visiting confined mainly to the church and ale-house. And the travels of the country squires, except for the few who got into Parliament, were usually limited to attendance on elections and courts at the county seat. The reading public in the rural sections was confined to the squirearchy who took newspapers. For the great majority of the country folk the peddlers and wayfarers were the news bringers. The lack of general education is attested by the fact that out of "12,000 parishes there were 3500 without the vestige of a school." Even in the early years of the next century London had as many as 120,000 illiterate children, and "in Manchester and Salford nearly 10,000 marriages were recorded in which neither party could sign their names." "England and Wales," says Mathieson, "were unquestionably the least and worst educated countries in Protestant Europe."¹¹

Yet notwithstanding the darker features of its life, England during the century made several notable strides forward. It instituted the Cabinet, and introduced party government. It established the new Hanoverian line of rulers, demonstrating that kings rule by parliamentary and national support, not by divine right.¹² It became mistress of the sea and won empire in India. In the discovery of Australia was found a land that proved ere long the seat of a great federation of states. It effected a just union with Scotland. It experienced the industrial revolution, agriculture yielding primacy to manufacture and commerce. It was victorious over France both in

Europe and America, though losing at Yorktown to the colonists assisted by the French fleet. In the John Wilkes' struggle it made notable advances in liberty,—the rights of freely publishing parliamentary debates, of constituents to name their representatives in the House of Commons, and of security against general search warrants all being established. In the realm of religion it witnessed the zeal of the Anglicans for church building in Anne's time; the activity of the Evangelicals later in founding charity schools and missionary societies; the noble work of Robert Raikes in instituting the Sunday School movement; and the rise and expansion of Methodism. In the writings of John Locke, Joseph Priestley, and Richard Price, and in the pronouncements of Chatham and Fox, it learned ideas and principles that heralded later constitutional and parliamentary reform,—reform not to be had, however, until England got past her fears of revolutionary France and Jacobinism.

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CHAPTER II

ENGLAND AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION 1793-1815

The events of the earlier part of the French Revolution elicited general approval rather than alarm in England. Sympathy was felt for a downtrodden people who were trying to win liberty and constitutional government.¹ That France, the old enemy, should be weakened by civil discord meant too, it was thought, that England, for a time at least, need fear no war from that quarter and could therefore follow with safety a peace policy and lighten the people's taxes. The fall of the Bastille was declared by Fox, "the greatest and best event that had happened in the world." Fox was a champion of the liberty-loving in revolt, and though grieved at the violence and bloodshed of the French revolution he rejoiced in its success. He deplored its methods but admired its spirit, rightly believing that its basal principles were good.² It was natural to have sympathy and admiration for the French democrats: for in 1789 there existed in England grave social economic and constitutional evils needing correction, just as was the case in France. Hoping to effect reform, men of republican views in England and the political dissenters generally largely under French influence formed several revolutionary societies. The "Friends of the People" society had a membership of the highest respectability and influence, including many members of Parliament such as

Russell, Grey and Sheridan. The "London Correspondence Society," first formed as a secret order, numbered between 6000 and 7000 members. The "Society of Constitutional Information" consisted of the more advanced and thorough-going among educated men of radical views. In many towns clubs were formed "avowedly affiliated to the democratic clubs in France." Among prominent enthusiastic admirers of the French Revolution were Price, Paine and Mackintosh.³ But enthusiasm in England for the French Revolution did not long continue. As the movement progressed, exhibiting soon its violent, anarchic spirit, subverting law and order, overturning throne and altar, and revealing its intention to propagate its ideas in other countries, English public opinion changed, and, influenced by the views of Edmund Burke, became eventually heartily opposed to the revolution. Burke, a believer in a highly aristocratic constitutional monarchy as the best form of government and having little faith in rule by the people, was from first to last bitterly hostile to the experiments of the French republicans. In 1790 he published his famous essay "Reflections on the French Revolution" of which 30,000 copies were shortly sold. Burke declared that "France was setting an example of anarchy, fraud, violence and atheism."⁴ He predicted that the probable close of the anarchy of the Revolution would be a military despotism.⁵ He protested against comparing, as some were doing, the English Revolution of 1688 with the French Revolution, and his advice to the English was to have nothing whatever to do with the French Constitution.

The conservative views of Burke in time prevailed also with the English government. The prime minister, the younger Pitt, at first thinking it probable that the

political turmoil of France would issue finally in establishing a constitutional monarchy approximating England's in character, had determined to follow a neutral policy and not to interfere at all with French internal affairs. He was interested in domestic reforms, and hoped for at least fifteen years of peace in which to carry out his cherished plans of economy and retrenchment. He looked toward reducing the public debt, lightening the taxes, abolishing the slave trade and liberalizing the constitution. In August, 1791, he refused to join the European powers in offering concerted action against France, and in the spring of 1792 he submitted a budget framed entirely upon a peace basis.

But the turn of events soon forced Pitt to abandon the position of non-intervention. No sooner had the Jacobins gotten in control of Paris and succeeded in repelling the Austrians and Prussians, than it was made clear that the French would not be content with righting their own institutions, but believed they had a mission to perform in righting the governments of other peoples as well. On November 19, 1792, they issued a famous decree "promising fraternity to all nations desirous of liberty." Letters, pamphlets and secret agents were despatched from France into other states to stir up political discontent and the spirit of revolt. As a result, in England a royal proclamation was issued May 21, 1792, against seditious writings, and an Alien Bill was passed January 4, 1793, requiring "foreigners to state the object of their visit to England, to enter their names on a register, and to have passports" for moving from place to place. To guard against further riots, some of which had occurred that seemed to have been incited by emissaries of the Jacobins, the government in December,

1792, called out the militia.⁶ Pitt soon realized that war would come. He noted that the revolutionists were issuing orders to disregard all treaty obligations, and to open the navigation of the Scheldt, which treaty guarantees by France and other countries had closed, the opening of which could not but bring France directly into opposition both to Holland and to England; that they appropriated Savoy and Nice; and that they occupied Belgium. France was assuming the right of setting treaties at naught, and was subverting the political system of Europe. As the "shores of the low countries had always been recognized as a vital part of the English defence,"⁷ Pitt could not consent to their occupation by the French and remonstrated.. The French then declared war on England and Holland, February 1, 1793. Only ten days earlier, on January 21, the execution of Louis XVI had occurred and this event mightily stirred popular hatred and passion.

From 1793 to 1815 warfare between England and France was almost constant. After the fall of Robespierre and the Jacobins, the National Democratic Convention gave way, October, 1795, to the rule of the Directory, an executive committee of five members, supported by two legislative bodies. The Directory in turn gave way November 10, 1799 to the authority of Napoleon, who, supported by the army, made himself First Consul and then Emperor, and was virtually dictator in France until his overthrow in 1815. Under all these different governments France remained hostile to England. It is true there were three attempts on the part of Pitt to negotiate peace, in 1795, 1796, and in 1797, but on account of France's success at arms they were unavailing. The Peace of Amiens, made with Napoleon

March 27, 1802, was only a truce, for during the fourteen months' cessation of active hostilities both powers were busy strengthening themselves for approaching conflicts.

England contended hard and long in maintaining the fundamental principles of her foreign policy, all of which were fiercely assailed. These principles are (1) "guarding the security of the country from invasion by maintaining sea-supremacy; (2) keeping the coasts of the Netherlands in friendly hands"; (3) protecting her colonies; (4) holding India; (5) retaining control of the Mediterranean; and (6) preserving the European Balance of Power by preventing France or any other state from getting an overwhelming predominance on the Continent.

The course pursued by the French, especially under Napoleon, was in direct opposition to all these principles.⁸ Napoleon undertook, like Charles the Great, to subjugate all Europe. Like Alexander the Great, he sought to establish an Eastern Empire in India. He sought to invade England, to rob her of her supremacy in the Mediterranean, to destroy her commerce, to take her colonies, and so to weaken her that she should not be able to thwart his plans for universal empire. But thwart him England did: by hard fought battles on land and sea, by building great coalitions of allies against him, and by furnishing millions of pounds of subsidies for supporting the armies of the allies. In five different years, 1793, 1798, 1805, 1813, 1814-15, France found herself opposed by a new coalition of allies, England being the chief builder and factor in all of them. Great Britain lacked a well-equipped army at the first, and consequently the plan she pursued against France was to

assist the allies with her navy and with money. England's maritime power could inflict great injury on the enemy by destroying her commerce, blockading her ports, and taking her colonies. But to bring France, a Continental power, to terms land battles had to be fought, and since the powers of Europe would fight her if England would help to pay their troops, England determined to furnish the funds and put their armies in the field. The subsidizing was on a tremendous scale. In the nine years succeeding 1792 England's public debt was raised 336,000,000 pounds for subsidizing and military purposes. In 1793 the Island Kingdom was furnishing subsidies to Russia, Sardinia, Spain, Naples, Prussia, Austria, Portugal and Tuscany.

England was able to raise the money because British credit was good; because King, Lords, Commons and people were united in purpose; because the security and strength of their government insured social order and encouraged business; because there was steady growth in trade, manufactures, and commerce; because markets for British products were multiplied, safe trade with which was possible on account of the ubiquitous English navy. The mutinies in the navy in 1797 at Spithead and at the Nore, due to low wages, to an unfair system of pensions and promotion, to desire for a larger share of prize money, and to dissatisfaction with certain officers, were handled firmly, yet with sympathy for the sailors. Since the trouble resulted in the removal of abuses which had cursed the naval service for years, an increasing loyalty was produced. Later in this same year, 1797, when a Dutch fleet was gathered across the channel near Camperdown to assist France in a contemplated invasion of England, Holland having been led into alliance with

France, these same crews, so lately in rebellion, showed their patriotism, by rushing on the Dutch fleet with their old time valour and gaining a grand victory.⁹

England reaped big gains from the alliance of Holland with France, for that made the Dutch colonial possession open to attack. Great Britain had soon taken their rich settlements in Ceylon, and on the Malabar coast: the Cape; and the Moluccas. While England suffered an occasional loss in the West Indies and was troubled here and in other portions of her colonial empire by insurrections stirred up by French agents, on the whole England's colonies remained faithful, as did India. The rebellion in Ireland in 1798, largely incited by the French, was successfully put down and resulted in a corporate union between Great Britain and Ireland. Later victories against France were due in no small part to the many brave Irishmen in the ranks of the army. While England experienced a total loss of commerce with France, Holland and the Belgian Netherlands, this injury was more than counterbalanced by an increase of commerce with Germany, Russia and the United States. British money was what held together the enemies of France when offering a united opposition; and without those subsidies, the French army might have conquered all Europe.

Napoleon's hostility to England was unceasing. Three notable, though futile, attempts he made to destroy her. First, when a general under the Directory in 1798 he sought to ruin Great Britain by blocking her way to India through Egypt and Turkey. He landed an army in Egypt and had no difficulty in getting control of this country, but his progress toward India was blocked at Acre, in Syria, by Sydney Smith where Bona-

parte lost nearly 5000 men, and his navy was destroyed by Nelson in Aboukir Bay. His second plan was to invade England, which he attempted in 1805. He gathered an army of 150,000 men at Boulogne, which forces he hoped to get across the English Channel by means of the combined fleets of Spain and France and the use of a number of specially built transports. His plan was to have the scattered ships of the French fleet that were shut up in various harbors of France break the blockade, and with the Spanish fleet make for the West Indies with the hope of having the British fleet under Nelson follow them. They were then to turn back, escaping Nelson, make a dash for the English channel, and hold it long enough to allow Napoleon's transports to get their troops across to the island. Part of the plan worked well, for Nelson pursued to the Indies and the French fleet under Admiral Villeneuve eluded him, getting back safely to the Spanish coast. But there was delay at Cadiz for two months by Villeneuve and when he did move out Nelson, who had meantime learned of the manœuvre, was back, met him in Trafalgar Bay and destroyed his entire fleet. Nelson lost his life in the battle, but the victory forever defeated Napoleon's plan of invading England.

His third scheme was to humble England by destroying her commerce and industry. In 1806 when his alliance with Russia and his victories over neighboring states had given him virtual control of almost the entire sea-board of Europe, he instituted his so-called "Continental System" by issuing decrees from Berlin "declaring the British Isles in a state of blockade, forbidding all commerce between Great Britain and her colonies and the territories occupied by France or her allies, and

ordering the confiscation of all British merchandise wherever found." ¹⁰ Of course Great Britain retaliated, "declaring the ports of France and her allies in a state of blockade and neutral vessels trading between them lawful prize."

In this commercial struggle, a sort of duel by starvation, England, in possessing a colonial trade of considerable importance, had the advantage over France. The loyalty of her people too would bear sacrifice in order to gain victory over the hated Napoleon. In conquered Europe, popular sentiment was against the Emperor. The peoples of the different states under his rule could see no good or right in this plan for personal, selfish aggrandizement at the cost of so much suffering to themselves; and as business slackened, ports closed, factories shut down, and commerce ceased, bringing unemployment, poverty, distress and hunger the people began to curse the Berlin Decrees and their author. Here we see the beginning of Napoleon's ruin. Attempting to force Portugal against her will to join the Continental System, he overran the state, captured Lisbon, and then with basest ingratitude for former assistance rendered, deposed the Spanish monarch, Charles IV, and made his own brother Joseph king. Both of these acts thoroughly incensed the people of the whole Spanish Peninsula, and led to their furnishing in 1808 a safe entrance for the English army of 18,000 troops under Wellington. In 1810 Russia, encouraged by England, withdrew from Napoleon's Continental System. In 1812 came the disastrous Moscow Campaign when the French Emperor on retreating left on the frozen plains of Russia an army of half a million men. Seeing his power now was broken, all his foes took heart, and in 1813 the Fourth Great

Coalition of Prussia, Austria, Sweden, England and Russia was formed, whose combined armies overwhelmed him at Leipsic in a three days' battle, October 16-18. In this battle Napoleon lost in killed and wounded 50,000 out of 250,000 of his command. This defeat caused his first abdication and his retirement to Elba. On his escaping from Elba, dispossessing the restored Louis XVIII and seizing again imperial power in Paris, the Fifth Great Coalition of Great Britain, Russia, Austria and Prussia was formed, 1814, and their united strength achieved his final overthrow at the Battle of Waterloo June 18, 1815. In this famous battle, the British under command of the Duke of Wellington lost 13,000, the Prussians under Blücher 7,000, and Napoleon lost, if prisoners be included, 37,000 men, over half his army, and also the whole of his artillery, ammunition, baggage wagons, and military train. The Emperor fled to the capital, abdicated a second time, and then surrendered himself to the commander of a British war-ship the *Bellerophon*. He was exiled to St. Helena, an isolated rocky island belonging to Great Britain off the coast of Africa, where he remained until his death in 1821.

After Napoleon's first abdication, the Allies had restored Louis XVIII to the throne of France, made a peace treaty with him, May 30, 1814, and had assembled a great international congress at Vienna for determining a general peace settlement for all Europe. There were diplomats and princes from many states, but what was done at the conference was decided by the Five Great Powers, Russia, Prussia, Austria, England and France. The congress continued from September, 1814, to June, 1815, their final agreement, the Treaty of Vienna, being signed June 9, 1815, only a few days be-

fore the Battle of Waterloo. After this battle, a second treaty was made with France, November 20, 1815. The settlement required that the nation should pay a war indemnity of 28,000,000 pounds, that she should support an army of occupation for five years, and that the Bourbon Louis XVIII should occupy the throne. His territories were reduced to the old lines existing before war opened in 1792. England received not inconsiderable gains. While Java was returned to the Dutch, she kept Heligoland, Tobago, St. Lucia, Ceylon, and Cape Colony in South Africa, and her position in the Mediterranean was strengthened by the retention of Malta.

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CHAPTER III

ERA OF REACTION AND REPRESSION

1815-1821

The Allied Powers at the Congress of Vienna in 1815 in their settlement of the peace of Europe after the fall of Napoleon made one capital mistake, namely—not taking into account when changing the boundaries and governments of states the sentiments, predilections, and wills of the people affected by such alterations. It was for this reason mainly that so much of the work of that Congress did not prove permanent. According to the decrees of the Congress France was ever to be a monarchy under the absolute rule of the Bourbon dynasty; Teutonic Holland and French Belgium were to form a single kingdom under the rule of the House of Orange; Lombardy and Venetia were given to Austria, and Austria was to remain the ruling power in Germany and Italy; as to the Italian states, Genoa was handed over to Sardinia, the central ecclesiastical provinces were restored to the rule of the Papacy, and Naples and Sicily were placed again under the former Bourbon masters. But all this has since been changed. France proclaimed in 1870 the Third Republic which still exists; Holland and Belgium separated in 1830 and each set up an independent kingdom for itself. Lombardy with the assistance of French arms in 1859 and Venetia with the military aid of Prussia and Sardinia in 1866 threw off the Austrian yoke; the present Italian Kingdom first proclaimed in

1861 had incorporated by 1870 every state in the whole peninsula; and since 1856 Prussia, not Austria, has been the leader in German affairs. The wishes of the populations concerned had not been consulted and the arrangements did not last. The European statesmen and princes at Vienna labored under the delusion also that no good could come out of the French Revolution. England was a chief actor in the Congress of Vienna, her representative there being at the first Lord Castlereagh and later the Duke of Wellington, both staunch Tories. That England should be regarded as the champion of liberty and popular rights is justified by much of her history, but at this Congress the nation did not appear in that light. The government was eager to conclude as soon as possible a peace settlement which would be generally satisfactory to the other Great Powers and which would therefore probably last for some years, and in seeking this she accorded sanction and support to several illiberal and unpatriotic schemes. The giving of two-fifths of the Kingdom of Saxony to Prussia, the establishment of Austrian rule in Italy, the acquisition of Poland by Russia and Prussia, the cutting off of Norway from Denmark and joining it to Sweden, and other like acts of the Congress in which the rights of nationalities and peoples were sacrificed to the selfish interests of particular governments, were all acquiesced in by England.

The responsibility for her share in these reactionary and repressive measures of the Congress rests, though, on her aristocracy and Tory ministry mainly for in 1815 the English government was by no means representative of the whole nation. George IV as Regent during the mental incapacity of his father (1811-1820), and as King (1820-1830), continued in power the Tories. His Prime

Minister was Lord Liverpool, a most bitter opponent of constitutional reform. The Lord Chancellor was Lord Eldon, who devoted his great intellectual powers to obstructing all changes in the law that tended to equalize the political status of different classes; the Home Secretary was Lord Sidmouth, an unprogressive statesman of mediocre talent who had been a highly favored minister of the illiberal King George III; the Secretary of Foreign Affairs was Lord Castlereagh than whom no one was more hated by the leading Liberals of the day. The Toryism of such a ministry was less intelligent, less liberal, and more violent than the Toryism of the government in the earlier years of the century, well represented in William Pitt who was kept from undertaking needed political reforms by the necessity of carrying on foreign wars; or than the later Toryism of men like George Canning, Sir Robert Peel and Huskisson who came to influence about 1822, and who championed the ideas of social and economic reforms. From 1815 to 1820 a Toryism that identified reform with revolution, and that enacted legislation of a deliberately reactionary form ruled supreme. This force it was, and not a freely expressed national sentiment, that was responsible for the rôle played by England at the Congress of Vienna.

As to domestic affairs, the three decades, 1800-1830, of Tory government have been termed the "period of legislative quiescence"¹ by which designation is meant that in this period politically no material improvement or amendment was made in the fundamental law of the land. In general the character of the laws passed in these years was either reactionary or paternal; the measures did not contemplate any increase of political power for the people, but on the contrary sought to weaken

their influence in governmental affairs through attempting either to allay popular discontent by humanitarian treatment or to suppress by force their means of political agitation. To be sure the body of fundamental law needed revision, the legal abuses being evident, numerous and grave; but the party in control felt that prudence necessitated leaving everything just as it stood rather than to venture any innovation sought by those whose loudest clamour was for parliamentary reform in the direction of democracy. They were heartily supported in this position by the titled nobility, the higher-placed clergyman, and the opulent aristocrat who held a very optimistic view of the structure of the English government and felt that Englishmen ought to be satisfied with the fact that they enjoyed greater liberties than the subjects of the neighboring European states. They passed in this era several measures of a humane character, forbidding the "slave trade in 1806, abolishing the pillory in 1816, prohibiting the whipping of women in 1820, penalizing cruelty to animals in 1822, prohibiting the use of spring guns in 1827,"² and placing regulations on the employment of labor in factories in the health and moral acts of 1802, 1819, 1825, 1829 and 1831; but while they exhibited in the enactment of these laws a desire to lessen as far as they could suffering and pain for the unfortunate, they showed at the same time their readiness to restrict popular rights and privileges by passing such reactionary laws as the Combination Act of 1800 and the Six Acts of 1819.

The Combination Act reveals clearly enough that the interest of employers of labor were better represented in Parliament in 1800 than the interest of working men. It was a severe statute, aimed especially at the suppres-

sion of strikes, trade unions, and every sort of combination among workmen which sought to advance wages or to better conditions of employment. Taken along with the law of conspiracy already on the statute books, this act virtually meant that any "artisan who organized a strike or joined a trade union was a criminal and liable on conviction to imprisonment; the strike was a crime, the trade union was an unlawful association."³ The theory of the law was that laborers and artisans must be contented with the customary rate of wages, and never use the pressure of numbers, nor organize offering common resistance, nor do anything in fact together with the purpose of forcing their employers to raise their pay. Combinations were objectionable to the government too because they suggested the revolutionary clubs of France. It was the dread of sedition and rebellion that inspired also the passing of the Six Acts of 1819. These measures aimed among other things to prevent political gatherings and mass meetings among the common folk; to stop through severe penalties so-called seditious writings and organizations; to curtail the right of public discussion; to forbid, unless under supervision of the civil authorities, the training of persons to the use of arms and to the practice of military evolutions; and to check the circulation of certain cheap newspapers by the imposition of stamp duties. The Act for preventing the assembling of seditious gatherings, so restricted the right of holding public meetings for the lower classes as to make the right valueless. It allowed "meetings of counties called by the lord lieutenant or sheriff; meetings for corporate towns called by the mayor . . . ; and meetings called by five or more justices of the peace," but with these exceptions, it forbade all meetings for the consid-

eration of grievances in Church and State, or for the purpose of preparing petitions, except in the parishes (or townships, where parishes are divided into townships) where the individuals usually reside.⁴ No one except an actual resident could attend such a meeting, and previous notice of such meetings had to be given by seven inhabitants to a neighboring magistrate, who possessed the discretionary power of forbidding it altogether if he liked. No person bearing weapons or banners could attend such a meeting. Thus the lower classes could be kept strictly to the small parish meetings, and from these assemblies all itinerant orators, being strangers, would be excluded; and since at the time, 1819, many wealthy and popular towns, such as Manchester, Birmingham and Sheffield were not incorporated and also had no representative in Parliament, they were denied the only means they had of calling attention to their grievances and needs. This unfair measure was limited, however, in its duration to five years.

To explain the passage of these laws it is necessary to give a somewhat detailed account of the general economic conditions and dissatisfied state of national feeling in England in the period immediately succeeding the close of the Napoleonic wars, and to show the forms of expressions which that discontent was taking. After peace was made in 1815 there followed in England a time of unexampled distress notwithstanding the national expectation that the cessation of hostilities would inaugurate an era of remarkable prosperity. The causes for this unusual state of wide-spread economic depression and consequent unhappiness are not far to seek. The enormous expenditures of the government for war supplies of every sort for so many years had furnished

a new, profitable, but artificial market for the products of farm and factory. The government was not only spending millions of borrowed money on its own army necessities, but was lending also immense sums to her allies for provisions and military stores. During the last year of the war the government through taxation or loans had raised 170,000,000 pounds. Her national debt had amounted to the prodigious sum of 861,039,049 pounds.⁵ These lavish outlays of money produced an abnormal inflation of prices, which led many manufacturers and undertakers engaged in agricultural trade to extend their operations on borrowed capital and at heavy initial expenses, hoping to realize big profits on their ventures by selling in a rising market. Considerable impetus and advantage were given British industries and commerce by the suspension of manufactures in parts of the Continent where hostile armies came, and by the suspension of commerce caused by Napoleon's restrictive trade regulation which forbade free commercial intercourse and access to natural markets. England's territory was free of battles and hostile armies, and therefore the peaceful life of plough and loom proceeded without interruption. So long as the war lasted all hands willing to work in some industry could find employment. In spite of the prohibitions of the Continental System, a well organized contraband trade flourished. British shipowners were prospering and were fast getting control of the carrying trade of the world. English exports in 1792 were valued at 27,000,000 pounds; but in 1815 at 58,000,000 pounds.

Agriculture yielded enormous profits for some years. So high was the general level of prices for wheat in particular that many men of the adventurous, speculative,

and spendthrift type entered on farming, substituting the careful provident, small cultivators. They brought under the plough much poor land formerly felt to be unprofitable to till. Exercising poor judgment they took crop after crop from the same piece of ground to the great exhaustion of the soil, and abandoned in the sole interest of producing grain many advantageous and necessary forms of husbandry. The deficiency of the harvests in some years and the constant demands of war greatly heightened the price of corn (that is wheat and breadstuffs). During the closing years of the conflict the price of wheat was at times double what it was in the opening year. The inflation was due to exceptional demand, to temporary scarcity and monopoly. With the return to natural conditions at the close of the war this inflation largely disappeared, the price of wheat for three years varying generally from 60 s. to 80 s. instead of from 90 s. to 120 s. and the lowered market meant heavy losses for those who had projected their enterprises on the faith of the continuance of high prices. The land owners, as a class, were, however, protected considerably by the corn laws. Pressed by the powerful landed interests, and accepting their doctrines that agriculture was the true basis of national strength, and that from a military point of view it was not safe to allow the country to depend on its neighbors for food-supply, Parliament passed a law in 1815 that practically prohibited the importation of foreign grain until the price of wheat in England had reached at least 80 shillings a quarter. After this law had been in effect for some time, the "sliding scale" acts were passed which established a system of varying tariffs, so that when the price of home grown wheat rose above a definite figure the duty on imported

wheat was to sink proportionally. But the corn laws were vicious in principle, and did more harm than good. Whatever benefit the wheat growers received was given at the expense of the consumers of the whole nation. In order to put more money in the corn grower's pocket the government, in excluding by law foreign grain, was making bread scarce and dear for all the rest of the people. Money-making for the landowners after this method meant for the poor hunger and suffering. The measures, too, made prices more variable: and the more frequent and uncertain the fluctuation in prices, the more rife was speculation, and the greater were the risks taken and the losses incurred. These violent fluctuations brought disaster to many farmers. Overwhelmed with debt they had to suspend or limit their operations which involved discharging their laborers who were added to the increasing class of the needy unemployed.

The commercial classes experienced likewise serious disappointments and financial losses. Not a few enterprising commercial men, believing that the continental demand for English exports when peace came would be twice as great as it was in war, and desiring to share in the prospective profits, transferred money from legitimate and lucrative trade to the purchase of colonial produce for exportation. They overlooked the fact that the continent had been greatly impoverished by the long war and that as a consequence it did not have the means to obtain the English goods. France, Russia, Spain and Germany had experienced such a drain on their resources by the final struggles of 1814-15 that they lacked money for necessities. The export trade suffered a reduction of 16%, and the import trade nearly 20%, which decline involved numerous bankruptcies, and the wholesale dismissal of working people. The Continent's revival

of domestic industries lessened the foreign demand also for British manufactured goods; and the iron and textile industries of England especially suffered when the government discontinued its purchases for military purposes. The price of iron fell from 20 to 10 pounds.

The condition of the lower working classes was most distressful. Even in times of general business prosperity they had not received a fair subsistence wage. Many of them had to have assistance out of the parish poor rates. A vicious system of poor relief made it possible for employers of laborers to pay low wages. The work people were being thrown out of employment also from the substitution of machine labor for hand labor in the factories. The ranks of the unemployed were swollen too by great accessions of the disbanded soldiers. In the years between 1814 and 1816 there were 500,000, and in the years 1816-17-19 there were 250,000 men released from the army and navy. With the close of the war there came too a severe winter and a deficient harvest, which made foodstuffs very dear. In the year 1817 Parliament authorized an expenditure of 750,000 pounds for employing the laboring poor on public works.

The general discontent and misery of the people gave rise soon to popular disturbances of anarchic, violent character, such as bread-riots, the smashing of machinery, and the burning of the hay-ricks. Here and there factories and stores were broken into, and occasionally night attacks were made on the houses of magistrates and landlords. High rents, which had advanced 70%, was a chief cause of the popular hatred for the latter class. The landlords with their families were compelled in some cases to abandon their houses for a time in order to save themselves from the fury of angry, hungry mobs.

In June, 1817, the carriage of the unpopular dissolute Prince Regent was attacked. Now and then a town fell into the hands of a mob and the tumult could only be suppressed by calling out the military forces. In the cities appeared frequent threatening assemblies of artisans and agricultural laborers who were clamouring aloud for employment and for reduction in prices of meat and grain. In the cries of these people was not heard at the first a demand for political reform: in pain and want they blindly called aloud for material relief with no care or plan as to how the aid should come. But before long the noise and tumult of the ignorant masses had aroused the political interest of a few intelligent, thoughtful, public-spirited men above them who better understood what conditions were wrong in the nation's life, and who soon gave to the people's "plaint a distinct tone and a definite purpose." To William Cobbett, must be given chief credit of having given a political turn to the discontent and unhappiness of the people. Cobbett was not a man of the college-bred type, who had had his head crammed with various theories of political science and constitutional systems; but he did know life. He was a man of the people, had been a soldier in the army serving in Canada, had been a bookseller in New York and Philadelphia, and had traveled widely. He acquired an excellent mastery of the English language and achieved success as an editor. He established a periodical called "The Weekly Political Register" in which he argued that most of the evils that Englishmen then complained of were to be attributed directly and almost altogether to a bad system of government. The price of his paper was reduced from a shilling to two pence in 1816, and at once it became an authority with the laboring classes. It circulated over the whole coun-

try and was read in shop and cottage. His cure for the evils of the time was simply to reform Parliament. He wanted universal suffrage, annual parliaments, election by ballot, and only a single legislative chamber. Some of his demands were far ahead of the times, but his work was the beginning of a great agitation which did not end until the great Reform Bill of 1832 was passed. Other friends and promoters of reform were Lord Brougham, Sir Francis Burdett, Samuel Whitbread, Lord Cochrane, Sir Samuel Romilly, Charles Earl Grey, and Lord John Russell. Some of these men had been urging in the House of Commons Parliamentary reform before the long war opened in 1783; but now after that war had closed, having lasted over two decades, they had still to wait a period almost long enough for an infant in arms to grow to the stature of a man before that most reasonable demand was gained.

To the Tory ministers, Liverpool, Castlereagh and Eldon the demands possible to be made on England after the peace settlement of Vienna, just as the dangers to which the country had been exposed when conducting the war, furnished good reason for refusing to introduce more of popular power in the government. In their opinion, the position of Great Britain as a sort of protector of that settlement had to be sustained. Times were perilous and it was deemed possible that at any moment the nation might be called upon to act with all her force in concluding some contest between Continental powers. They feared too popular discontent at home. Therefore their plans at the first for continuing the war taxes and keeping on foot an army of 150,000 men in time of peace. But the Whigs and Radicals interpreted the Tory policy in conjunction with the treaties

entered into at the Congress of Vienna to mean that the government intended to raise England into a great military power, and for the bad purpose too of interfering on the continent to guarantee sovereigns there against the triumph of democracy in their territories: so they began vigorous opposition, and in 1816 raised the cry: "Peace, Retrenchment and Reform." By flooding Parliament with petitions that exhibited the universal hostility of the country to the proposed continuance of certain income and property taxes first laid on for war purposes, they succeeded in defeating in Parliament the Tory ministry on that score. The ministers were led also to cut down the army and navy to the lowest limit consistent with national security. In the interest of economy, they announced in 1817 that the Regent resigned to the public one-fifth of his whole receipts, amounting to 50,000 pounds a year, and they passed several acts the object of which was to get rid of many useless offices.

But while the Tories yielded somewhat to the Whigs' demands for peace and retrenchment in that they cut down the war taxes and made considerable reduction in governmental expenses, they were for some years dead set against all proposals for political reforms. The ministry seemed to think that every society and gathering of the people where reform was discussed had hidden within it a treacherous conspiracy against the government. Just after the carriage of the Prince Regent was attacked in 1817 two secret committees, one from the House of Commons and one from the House of Lords, were appointed to inquire into the general state of the political unrest. The House Committee declared that revolutionary clubs were organized all over the country. The Lords Committee likewise reported the existence of a

great net-work of societies, which pretended to be working for Parliamentary reform but were really militant in purpose and were doing their best "to infect the minds of all classes with the spirit of disaffection and a contempt of law, religion, and morality." ⁶ As a matter of fact, the organizations were merely peaceful debating societies or literary clubs where politics and reform were discussed. The innocent marching in procession and the occasional drilling of awkward labourers to keep step and in line when assembling in the big out-of-door mass meetings was the military feature inspiring so much fear. The strikes, riots and even occasional feeble attacks on governmental authority were only impressive manifestations of general destitution and distress; yet they were considered by the ministry to be convincing signs of a Jacobin conspiracy to overthrow the monarchy.

It is true that the discovered Cato Street affair, Feb. 23, 1820, whose chief instigator was a violent radical, Arthur Thistlewood, was a genuine, murderous plot to assassinate the whole ministry while at a Cabinet dinner, and Thistlewood and four of his accomplices justly paid for it with their lives; but the Spa Fields gathering of Dec. 2, 1816, the Derby insurrection of June 10, 1817, and the Bonnymuir rising in Scotland, April 3, 1820, connected with each of which was rioting and the fatal shooting of somebody, were expressions, neither surprising nor unnatural of misguided ignorant classes suffering acute economic distress. The appeal to the insurgent was:

"No bloody soldier must he dread;
He must turn out and fight for bread." ⁷

In dealing with these uprisings the government em-

ployed but one method, coercion, believing transgressors guilty of "levying war against the king." Its illiberal, unsympathetic attitude and policy were well revealed in the Peterloo incident.

On Monday, Aug. 16, 1819, there assembled on St. Peter's Field, Manchester, a peaceful mass-meeting, numbering in all, men, women and children, some 80,000, to hear speeches on political subjects, to discuss and adopt a plan for Parliamentary reform, and to choose a "legislatorial representative." The leaders of the affair publicly admonished the meeting that no insult to anyone was to be permitted, and that no excuse whatever was to be given to the authorities for any attempted disturbance of the proceedings. But the local magistrates who had announced such a gathering to be illegal determined to disperse it. They had sworn in special constables and called into service several companies of infantry and six troops of cavalrymen. Just as Mr. Hunt, the orator of the occasion, was on the point of formally opening the proceedings the chief constable supported by some soldiers pressed into the densely packed crowd seeking to wedge his way through to the speaker's platform, to serve on Mr. Hunt the warrant of arrest. But so closely jammed together were the people, the constable's little party could make poor headway, and soon became entirely surrounded, held fast by the crowd. They were not attacked nor were they in any danger, but some of the magistrates outside thought so, and losing their heads gave the order to the officer in command of the Hussars to disperse the crowd. At once the cavalry charged into the defenceless multitude with the result that five persons were killed outright; thirty more with serious wounds had to be carried to the hospitals, and another half hun-

dred were badly injured. This massacre of innocent people was generally deplored all over the country; but, strange to say, the central authorities endorsed the course of the magistrates and induced the Prince Regent to write them a letter of approval. The chief lesson drawn by the ministry from the lamentable occurrence was the necessity of strengthening the laws for suppression of sedition. They called an autumnal session of Parliament, and got it to pass by big majorities the repressive "Six Acts" mentioned above. These enactments mark the culmination and end of an era of harsh repressive legislation. For five years, 1815-1820, the lower classes had suffered much, and in their misery had caused the Government no little trouble. In retaliation the Government had a number of the leaders of the populace executed for high treason; it suspended the Habeas Corpus Act, allowing arbitrary arrest and imprisonment of suspected revolutionists; it forbade the possession of firearms;⁸ it jealously guarded against the least extension of the suffrage; it shackled the press; it limited the right of public assembly. These reactionary and repressive methods kept the country quieted for several years, but the peace was one of submission, not of satisfaction.

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CHAPTER IV

STRENGTHENING LIBERALISM AND PARLIAMENT REFORM, 1821-1832

From 1821 on the government's policy is less restrictive and illiberal. Better harvests, cheaper bread, regular employment, and the improved state of the manufacturing interests made a more contented people. There was less popular disturbance and therefore less necessity for repressive laws. The French Revolution was receding farther into the past, and there was less of Jacobin dread among the authorities. The Peterloo massacre eventually resulted in greater liberty for the people. In the trial of Hunt and some of his associates, who were arrested for their part in the Peterloo meeting, the attempt was made to prove them guilty of treason, which seemed possible according to the law as interpreted by Lord Eldon, the Chancellor. He held that the charge of treason could be maintained in that "numbers constituted force, and force terror, and terror illegality." But the judges who tried Hunt and his associates the year after their offenses were committed took a different view. The men were convicted of misdemeanors only, though Hunt himself was imprisoned for two years. The court's view made it certain that unless there is a special provision or law to the contrary, public political meetings are legal, however great the numbers of peaceful men who assemble.¹ The year 1821 marks the death or resignation of some of the older Tories, like Lord Sidmouth and Castle-

reagh, and the rise to power of younger men of the Tory party such as Canning, Huskisson and Sir Robert Peel who were less averse to innovations than their predecessors in office. Under their leadership, slight domestic reforms were achieved and a radical change made in England's foreign policy. Huskisson, a believer in free trade, was successful in having some of the restrictive navigation laws removed in 1823, and in reducing the import duties in 1824 on raw materials for manufacture, such as wool and silk, to the benefit of both commerce and the textile interests. Peel began the reform of the criminal code by cutting down the long list of crimes punishable by death, reducing the list eventually to two offenses, viz., murder and treason. He reformed the police system of London, did good service in 1819 in restoring the currency, and drew up the bills that compelled the Bank after 1823 to pay on demand all notes in legal coin. Canning led England a step forward in her foreign policy.

For seven years, 1815-1822, the members of the Holy Alliance, the Czar of Russia, Emperor of Austria, and King of Prussia with their reactionary Bourbon confederates of France and Spain and Naples were dominating Europe in the interest of absolutism. Whenever the Liberals of any state would force a constitution from their king or depose him, this confederacy would hold a congress, decide on military intervention in the state, and send out as their agent troops to suppress the popular uprising. They had supported Austria in suppressing such a movement in Naples, and backed France in a like interference in Spain. Castlereagh had acquiesced in these acts of the Holy Alliance, but Canning as Foreign Secretary announced a new policy. He threw his influ-

ence against the Alliance. He withstood French intervention in Portugal; he supported the independence of the revolted Spanish colonies in America; and he did all he could to prevent Turkey from crushing Greece.

In April, 1827, Canning reached the Premiership, only to occupy that high office for a few months. In attending the burial of the Duke of York which occurred on a bleak, cold day in the preceding January, he contracted an illness that proved fatal. He died on the eighth of the following August. His successor in office was Lord Goderich, whose inefficient ministry lasted seven months only. In January 25, 1828, the Duke of Wellington was made Prime Minister, who held office until Nov. 22, 1830. As head of the Government the Iron Duke pursued a very unusual course. Instead of resigning his office when defeated on an important measure in the House of Commons, he would change his opinions to suit the House, remain in office, and graciously yield the enactment of the bill desired by the Opposition. He made his first retreat in connection with the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. These acts required profession of conformity to the Church of England for all members of corporations and holders of offices under the Crown. Wellington did not favor their abolition; but when he saw that a motion of the Whigs for a committee to consider the Acts commanded in the House of Commons a majority of forty-four votes, he and Peel, the Home Secretary, with other leaders of the Government, accepted this vote as practically decisive; and having declared themselves satisfied to substitute for the sacramental test in the laws, the requirement that a man when inducted into office must affirm that he would do nothing to injure the Church, supported the passage of the bill.²

The repeal was vigorously contested in the House of Lords on the ground that the acts formed an important "defensive outwork of the union of Church and State," and the bill was not passed until its affirmation requirement was altered by adding the phrase "upon the true faith of a Christian," which clause continued the exclusion of Jews from holding office.

The Prime Minister's next retreat was in connection with the matter of Catholic Emancipation. Since 1800 when Pitt had secured the Act of Union of Great Britain and Ireland, the Catholics of Ireland had been agitating for full political equality with Protestants, which Pitt would have given them at first had it not been for the obstinate refusal of the King, George III. Led by Daniel O'Connell they organized in 1823 the Catholic Association which soon had enrolled in its membership nearly all the Catholics of the country. The Association got up immense mass-meetings, and impressive demonstrations of every sort; sent orators over Ireland advocating the Catholic cause; organized parochial clubs; drilled the people in processional marching and united the sentiment and strength of the nation against the illiberal policy of the English government. The Association collected from its members an impost, called the "Catholic Rent," and in 1828 showed its political power by electing with an overwhelming majority O'Connell as their representative for the county of Clare. The sole barrier that would exclude O'Connell from Parliament was the oath he would have to take on entrance, since the election was altogether legal. The Association, under O'Connell's leading, at once planned the election of Catholic representatives for all the counties of Ireland, and began pledging its members to resist Wellington's ministry until

Catholic emancipation was granted, and to fight also for a reform of Parliament and for full religious and civil liberty. The Association planned to influence the government by the use of moral means only; but still it seemed to have within it the possibility of mustering on its side if need be the physical strength of the whole Catholic population of Ireland. Among its supporters too were numbered the Catholics of Scotland and England, many of the Whigs, and some of the Tory party.

Until 1829 Wellington, an Anglo-Irish Protestant by birth, had refused to give any consideration whatever to proposals for Catholic emancipation, showing himself to be in the matter as unbending an opponent as Liverpool or Eldon had ever been. But in that year Wellington and Peel came to the conclusion that civil war would occur in Ireland unless concessions were made. The ministry announced therefore their intention to bring in a bill that would place Catholics on the plane of political equality with the members of the Church of England. The Relief Bill introduced experienced considerable resistance in passage. King George IV detested the concession; the bishops and many lay peers were obstinate; and a large proportion of the English population disliked the proposition. But with the aid of the Whigs the ministry succeeded in its enactment. It established real political equality between Catholics and Protestants. The Catholics of Great Britain were given the franchise; Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland were given entrance to Parliament; and Roman Catholics were "admitted to all municipal offices, to all judicial offices, except in the ecclesiastical courts, and to all political offices except the offices of Regent, of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and of Lord Chancellor in England and

Ireland." ³ Not long after the passage of the Relief Bill as many as fifty Irish Catholics, O'Connell among them, were holding seats in Parliament.

In 1830, the year following that of the passage of the Relief Bill, Parliament was dissolved, and a new general election held on account of the death of the sovereign George IV. The "Sailor King" William IV, the only surviving brother of the former ruler, succeeded to the throne. He made a good constitutional king, for he believed the day was past when a ruler could "make himself an effective barrier against the movement of the times." ⁴ The reformers took heart and in the general election that followed won from the old Tory party more than fifty seats. In the English counties, where elections were freer than in the boroughs, sixty out of eighty-two members were returned by the Whigs. The election indicated that the nation expected Parliamentary reform to be undertaken, but when the subject was brought up, Wellington boldly and bluntly declared that England's legislative system was well nigh perfect, that he had no plan to offer for reform, and that "as long as he held any station in the government of the country he should always feel it his duty to resist such measures when proposed by others." ⁵ This frank statement of his conviction in the matter was accepted by the Whigs and reformers as a challenge, and on the next test vote the ministry was defeated by a majority of 29. Wellington now resigned, and the king appointed Charles Earl Grey, the Whig leader, Prime Minister.

The cause of reform was strengthened at this time in England by the spread of democratic movements that year, 1830, in several foreign countries; especially by the revolution in France that substituted the Bourbon

monarch, Charles I, for the citizen king, Louis Philippe. Charles had been dethroned by the people because he tried to rule arbitrarily through an ultra royalist ministry, instead of constitutionally through a fairly elected representative chamber, and because in his contest with the people he had the impertinence and temerity to issue three intolerable ordinances; the first, suspending the freedom of the periodical press: the second, ordering the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies; and the third, making alterations suiting the king in the constitution of the next chamber to be elected. Instead of obeying the royal orders the populace revolted, and securing the support of the disaffected national troops, forced the abdication of the king. The effects of the Paris revolution were felt at once all over Europe. There followed popular uprisings in Italy, Germany, Spain and Portugal. The Belgians revolted against union with Holland, and the Poles against the despotic rule of the Russian Czar Nicholas I. In England it strongly influenced the general election of that year.

The English reform movement had gained by this time the support of many men of substance, influence and education. Twelve years before the loudest and most active agitation was among the lower classes, day laborers and artisans; but the strength and direction of the movement came now from higher social groups, the manufacturers, merchants, lawyers, school teachers, thrifty farmers, and the householders of independent means. Leading statesmen had begun to accept the teachings of the political philosopher, Jeremy Bentham, who had published his sound views on the nature of government as early as 1776. He had declared as correct fundamental principles: (1) "That the end of all government is utility, or the

good of the governed"; (2) that the greatest happiness of the greatest number is the foundation of morals and legislation"; and (3) that "every person is in the main and as a general rule, the best judge of his own happiness." ⁶ To acknowledge these principles was to confess that the British Constitution was very defective. Bentham's disciples were numerous and influential in 1830, and heartily supported the reform program.

The system of Parliamentary representation was full of absurdities. Half of the members of the House of Commons obtained their seats by purchase or by the nomination of the proprietor of some great estate. Seats in the House of Commons were bought and sold openly, prices ranging from 3,000 to 30,000 pounds and the king a chief purchaser. The borough Wobley belonged to the Marquis of Bath, who just before an election would send down his servants to occupy for a few days the rickety old houses there, that they might qualify as voters and return his nominees on election day. The Duke of Rutland could return six members, Lord Lonsdale nine, and the Duke of Norfolk eleven. A county with a million of inhabitants like Yorkshire or Lancashire had no more representatives than the most sparsely settled county. The county of Cornwall had forty-two members lavished upon it, but the newly-grown populous industrial centres, like Leeds, Birmingham, and Manchester, each with a population numbering from 86,000 to 133,000, and over a score of other towns with populations running from ten to twenty thousand had no representative at all. There were still representatives given though to decayed villages that were formerly in mediæval times important seaports or market towns, but that in 1830 had neither houses nor inhabitants. The

electoral power of a man varied most capriciously. Residing in one place he might be one of twenty electors sending a delegate to the House of Commons; residing in another, he might be one of a hundred or a thousand voters. About one out of every forty-eight persons had a vote. These indefensible anomalies in the representative system were due to the fact that the constitution of the House of Commons had experienced little change for over two hundred years.

Since the calling of the "Model Parliament" by Edward I in 1295, the rule had been, with but a few exceptions, that each county and each borough should have two representatives in the elected national legislative assembly. The small and sparsely settled counties and boroughs of Wales secured only one member each: London got four. Since Edward's day a few insignificant boroughs had lost the right of returning a representative, but numerous other places, many of them unimportant villages, had been created boroughs and given representatives in the House of Commons in order to increase the influence of the Crown in national legislation. One hundred and eighty borough members were added to the Commons between the coming to the throne of Henry VIII in 1509 and the death of Charles II in 1685. A town when first receiving representation in Parliament may have been a place of considerable size and importance, but though in succeeding years it dwindled in population until it lacked a dozen inhabitants, yet it continued to possess its two members in the House of Commons. A village settlement of little importance in the fourteenth century, might become in the eighteenth century a vast city, and still be unrepresented. There was an undue and unfair excess of borough over county members in

Parliament. The qualifications for voting, which had remained practically unaltered for generations, needed thoroughgoing revision. The county Parliamentary franchise was confined to free-holders of land worth forty shillings a year, but as during the eighteenth century many small estates had been swallowed up in the large estates, there were only a few such free-holders, men owning outright pieces of land. The prosperous copy-holders, the industrious tenant-farmers and lease-holders who cultivated nine-tenths of the land, and the great body of hired laborers tilling the soil had no votes.⁷ As to the borough franchise, it exhibited extraordinary variety from town to town, having been determined by the history and character of the settlement. In some of the boroughs every resident freeman or every householder had a vote; in others only the town councillors who represented a close corporation filling their own vacancies had votes; and between these extremes there existed every conceivable intermediate system. Some modifications of the franchise had occurred since the accession of the Tudors but in the direction of restricting, not extending, the suffrage, qualifications for voting being less liberal under George III (1760-1820) than under Edward III (1327-1377).

“Where the suffrage was confined to burgage holds, the real property of the place was acquired by wealthy individuals who conferred on friends, relations, or dependents, the right of property during the period of election. If the corporation had the right of election, the influence of the neighboring landed proprietor was often sufficient to secure that its members, whose trade perhaps depended on his good-will, should yield him practically the patronage of the borough. Where the freeman

shared in the vote, the freedom of a borough was seldom conferred on any individual on whose support the influential landowner could not depend, and if any ventured upon a course of independence, the pliant majority were ready to create new freemen for the express purpose of turning the election. In the open boroughs money was expended in every kind of bribery.”⁸ The rights of persons unfavorable to the man of influence were defeated sometimes by omitting to rate them to pay the parish taxes. At the close of the eighteenth century there were in Parliament as many as 90 members of the House of Commons returned from 46 boroughs with not more than 50 voters; there were 81 members practically named by 40 peers; there were 150 members nominated by members of the House of Lords, and as many as 350 were returned through the influence and control of as few as 180 individuals.

Such were some of the injustices that Lord Grey’s ministry sought to remove in their famous Reform Bill of March 1, 1831. Its introduction into the House of Commons was entrusted to Lord John Russell, a noble scion of a prominent Whig family, and a leader long identified with the movement for Parliamentary reform. The bill was thoroughgoing, the ministers being convinced that nothing less than a great measure would satisfy the nation. It proposed to abolish three chief evils: (1) nomination of members by patrons; (2) election of members by the oligarchic town councils or close corporations; (3) the costliness and corruption of elections.⁹ It planned a redistribution of the seats on a fairer basis, taking representation away from the decayed villages and bestowing it on the hitherto unrepresented, newly grown prosperous towns; and it sought to simplify the voting

system, to establish a uniform borough franchise, and to make the franchise for both county and borough similar in principle. It was not a democratic measure by any means, but it proposed an important extension of the suffrage, possibly enlarging the electorate by about one half a million voters.

So far-reaching was the measure in its proposals that it excited at once the enthusiastic support of all friends and the bitterest opposition of all enemies of reform. The passage of the bill was hotly contested at every step. The proposed reform was described as a "revolution that will overturn all the natural influence of rank and property." It was denied that representation in origin was connected in its determination with the number of the population or with taxation; it was claimed that the rotten boroughs, and close boroughs, whose members could be nominated by patrons were serviceable in bringing young talent into Parliament, or good as refugees for distinguished members who had lost support in their own constituencies; it was affirmed that the proposal to abolish so many seats was nothing less than robbery, "a new Pride's purge." It was declared that England's form of government, as it then stood, was a model of perfection, and that the experience of all history had not produced a better one.

So numerous were the representatives of the rotten boroughs, and so resolved were they in withstanding their own destruction, that the ministry found they could not carry their measure without an appeal to the country through a new election. In a full house the Bill on its second reading passed by only one vote, 302 to 301, which convinced Lord Grey that he could not carry the reform through with so small a majority. He offered

to resign, but the King, William IV, would not accept it, preferring to dissolve Parliament, and to give the nation a chance to speak its mind. The new elections were conducted in the midst of unparalleled popular agitation, and resulted in returning a House in which the ministers could command a majority of 136. The Bill was again introduced September, 1831, and in the same month went through all three readings in the Commons, finally passing with a majority of 106. Lacking in argument the opposition had resorted to obstructive tactics, repeating over and over the same speeches, and making dilatory motions. "In fourteen days Peel had spoken 48, Crocker 57 and Wetherell 58 times."¹⁰ In the Upper House, the Lords, tenacious of their privileges, rejected the bill, and their action brought the country to the verge of civil war. The newspapers were filled with indignant remonstrances; there was talk of undertaking to abolish hereditary titles and ending the House of Lords; among the lower classes riots broke out necessitating the calling out of troops; enormous mass-meetings attended by tens of thousands were being held all over the country and from these and hundreds of political organizations went up the cry "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill." Parliament was now prorogued, but when it reassembled in December Lord John Russell introduced again, December 12, 1832, his third Reform Bill. This passed the Lower House March 23, 1832, by a majority of 116. In the Upper House, the Lords this time, instead of rejecting the measure, planned to pass it but with serious mutilations. Whereupon Lord Grey once more resigned, knowing well, however, that no Tory ministry the King could appoint would be able to conduct the government as affairs then stood. But William IV accepted Grey's

resignation and led the Duke of Wellington to try for a week, but in vain, to form a cabinet. Wellington and his colleagues in the Tory party feared civil war and rightly believed that the troops could not be depended on to face the angry people. The Duke advised the King to call back Lord Grey, which was done. But Grey, before he would accept office again, secured from His Majesty this written promise:

"The King grants permission to Earl Grey and to his Chancellor, Lord Brougham, to create such a number of peers as will be sufficient to insure the passing of the Reform Bill."¹¹ This threat ended all resistance in the House of Lords. The new peers were not created, but the bill became law June 4, 1832, Wellington and about 100 of the Lords who opposed the bill purposely absenting themselves at its passage.

The Reform Act as finally passed wholly disfranchised 56 boroughs having less than 2000 inhabitants, and took away one representative from each of 32 boroughs having less than 4000 inhabitants. The seats thus obtained were redistributed, of which 44 went to large towns or districts of London, each place receiving two members; 21 to towns of less consequence, each place receiving one member; 65 were added to the counties; 8 were given to Scotland and 5 to Ireland. The total membership of the House remained as before 658.

As to suffrage, the act established a uniform borough franchise, the right to vote being given to all 10 pound householders, that is to those "who own or rent any house, shop or building of an annual rental with the land of 10 pounds." In the counties votes were given to copyholders and lease-holders, that is "to farmers and tenants of land whose tenure was for sixty years, and of the an-

nual value of ten pounds, and to tenants-at-will holding land worth fifty pounds a year.”¹² Formerly only those who owned land outright had the franchise. The Act enfranchised the middle class, but not the artisans of towns nor laborers of the counties. The passage of the Reform Bill diminished the power of the landed interests in government, and it established two important constitutional principles: (1) The House of Lords cannot resist the House of Commons, when the latter truly voices the will of the nation; (2) The Sovereign of England must yield to the advice of his ministers on a question of vital import to the state.

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CHAPTER V

PROGRESSIVE LEGISLATION 1833-1845

The Reform Bill of 1832 completely ousted the "borough-mongering Tory oligarchy" from authority and gave control of the government into the hands of the Whigs for several decades. Immediately preceding 1830, the year Grey's Whig ministry came into office, the Tories had enjoyed an almost uninterrupted supremacy for forty-six years, but during the forty-four years just after 1830, they were in power not quite eight years. They found it to their advantage later to change their party name and began calling themselves "Conservatives." The Whigs, later called Liberals, were given a long lease of power because they were active promoters of additional reforms. The changes they sought to make were not, however, constitutional in character but chiefly social and economic. They differed from the Radicals in that they had no intention or desire to experiment with democratic projects. Favorable to the Whigs also was the accession of Victoria to the throne at the death of her uncle William IV, June 30, 1837. The young ruler had been well instructed by her teacher and adviser Lord Melbourne in the Whig doctrines of limited monarchy, parliamentary sovereignty and ministerial responsibility. The first notable work of the Reformed Parliament was the passage of an act for the emancipation of the

slaves in the British colonies. The negroes, numbering over 750,000, represented many millions of pounds of property owned by the most respectable and politically influential families of England, and through their labor was maintained a lucrative market for British goods. In 1833 one-fifteenth part of British exports were purchased by the West Indian Islands; in 1814 one-sixth part nearly had been taken by them. Slavery had a host of defenders, and numerous and varied were their arguments in support of the institution. They avowed that the colonies with free laborers would not compete with other places using slave-labor; that England had no right to rob certain of her colonies of an institution which formed the very basis of their strength and welfare; that to abolish slavery in colonies in direct contradiction to their desire as expressed in their local assemblies was an unwarranted and unconstitutional interference in their government; that it was unfair to the negroes who were better off in bondage than in freedom, for "who," it was asked, "is to feed these poor creatures if removed from the protection of their masters?"; that negroes would not render earnest labor except under compulsion, and that if they were freed, their places could not be taken by Europeans because they were unfit to toil in the sweltering heat of the tropical sugar, rice or cotton-fields; that emancipation would be followed by insurrections of the negroes; that the government could not justly thus interfere with the sacred rights of property; that the negroes on the West Indian plantations were better treated than the young workers in English factories and mines, and that it was right and sensible to correct labor conditions at home before attempting to do so for islands beyond the Atlantic Ocean; that the reports of ill-treat-

ment of slaves circulated by the abolitionists were exaggerations, and that it was to the interest of slave owners to care for their property, not destroy it, and that it was reasonable to believe that they did so.

These arguments of the planters seem weak enough to-day, but it took a half century of labor and agitation on the part of the abolitionists and humanitarians to overthrow the system supported by them. Prominent among those who espoused the cause of the slaves were Ramsey who in 1784 published a book on the cruelties of the slave trade that excited wide interest; Lady Middleton whose influence was largely instrumental in having the subject brought to the attention of Parliament; William Wilberforce, a man of high birth, considerable fortune, philanthropic nature, and earnest Christian faith, who from 1787 to the end of his life in 1833, was active both within and without Parliament in waging the anti-slavery crusade; Granville Sharp, who in 1772 obtained the first decision that slavery was illegal in England, and under whose presidency was formed in London in 1787 the "Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade"; Thomas Clarkson who gained a prize at Cambridge for an essay on slavery, published in 1786, and who was of great service in collecting valuable data for Wilberforce to use in the House of Commons; Brougham, who carried an act in 1811 making it a felony to engage in the slave trade which gave effectiveness to the act passed in 1807 under Grenville's administration that prohibited the slave trade after Jan. 1, 1808, and who in 1830 when probably the most powerful member in the House of Commons made bold advocacy of the cause of abolition in a telling oration that placed emancipation among questions of first-rate importance in practical politics; Thomas Fowell Bux-

ton, member of a Quaker Family, a distinguished graduate of Dublin University and a member of the African Institution which watched over the law that abolished the slave-trade, a man whose views in the matter appear in his first resolution on the subject introduced, though not passed, in Parliament in 1823, which declared "that the state of slavery was repugnant to the principles of the British Constitution and of the Christian religion, and that it ought to be abolished throughout the British Colonies, with as much expedition as may be found consistent with due regard to the well-being of the parties concerned";¹ Zachary Macaulay, father of the historian, who resigned the management of an estate in the West Indies because of his dislike of slavery, who had been one of the leaders in an unsuccessful attempt to found the Sierra Leone Colony, which was intended to be an asylum for freed negroes and a trading centre for developing the resources of Africa; and who gave two years of labor to the collection of a body of facts concerning the actual working of the slave system in the colonies, which material furnished weapons for Buxton's use in Parliament; and Lord Stanley, who, as the Colonial Secretary, led in carrying, as a ministerial bill, the great abolition measure of August, 1833.

The Emancipation Act abolished slavery in the British Empire by purchase. The law took effect August 1, 1834. Children of 6 years of age and under were immediately freed; the rest, while emancipated, were yet apprenticed from 5 to 7 years for three-fourths of their time to their former masters. The planters were paid for their losses the handsome sum of 20,000,000 pounds, not a few of them being enriched by the exchange. The apprentice provision was in time disregarded.

The Parliament that severed the bonds of the black laborers of the West Indies could not fail to recognize a duty owed to the white laborers, slaving it in British factories. After the introduction of machinery into the weaving and spinning industries, the children were soon crowded into the mills, because with machines to do the heavier tasks of manufacture they could perform the lighter operations equally as well as adults, and yet would have to be paid hardly one-tenth as much in wages. Lazy parents sent their children into the factories to get their earnings. The local authorities of cities and towns who had to look after the offspring of the destitute and pauper classes were eager to apprentice dependent children to the manufacturers for a number of years in order to lighten the burden of the poor rates, and to remove the young from the degrading influence of pauperized parents. The general result was that boys and girls by the thousands and of tenderest years, who if living to-day would be found in the primary grades at school, were swept into the mills. The London local officials repeatedly sent out wagonloads of these children to be apprenticed to the mill owners of Lancashire.

"The majority of the factory children did not begin work until nine years of age, but a great many began at seven and some at six and even five."² The regular working day was for twelve hours, in some quarters thirteen; and since in many factories all losses of time due to stoppage of machinery had to be made up by extra work, the day was frequently prolonged to fourteen hours and occasionally to sixteen. Half-hour intervals were allowed for dinner and tea, but these brief recesses were for cleaning the machinery as well as for eating meals. It was calculated that in performing their monotonous

tasks back and forth in attending their machines some of the children had to walk in a day a distance of twenty miles. They were surrounded by a vicious moral atmosphere, were given no education worth the name, were often cuffed and kicked about by older operatives of brutal character, were sometimes maimed for life by the unfenced-off machinery, and were early robbed of their bodily vigor because denied their share of sunshine and pure air. The physical and moral health of the girls and young women especially suffered, a deterioration of future motherhood that involved a deterioration of race. These evils of unregulated factory life had deeply impressed the minds of a few philanthropists for some years previous to 1833, and since the opening of the century their efforts had achieved one or two slight reforms. Owing to the occurrence of a fearful epidemic due it was believed to the unsanitary state of the mills, and the weakened condition of the young operatives, a law was enacted in 1802, which applied, however, only to factories having apprenticed children, that "required the walls of the mills to be whitewashed, restricted hours of labour to twelve a day, and forbade beginning work before six o'clock in the morning and continuing it beyond nine o'clock at night."³ In 1816 Robert Peel was instrumental in having passed a law, applying though to cotton factories only, that limited the working day to twelve hours; and later the working child was given by law a fourth of a holiday on each Saturday. The laws did not apply to the wool and silk mills where a host of boys and girls laboured; they were easily evaded by managers of the special mills to which the regulations did apply; and yet when fully kept, they allowed a little child to be worked as many as sixty-eight hours a week.

This was all the protection the state gave the factory child until 1833, and yet when in this year, and at later dates, the humanitarians undertook to give more they met with vigorous opposition from many quarters. Lord Shaftesbury, who was the most prominent and influential supporter of the factory movement and whose religion led him to devote his long life to philanthropic labors, wrote in his private diary of the hostility he incurred when urging a Ten Hours Bill in 1847. "I had to break every political connection, to encounter a most formidable array of capitalists, mill-owners, doctrinaires, and men who by natural impulse hate all 'humanity-mongers.'" ⁴ He named among those who then opposed the reform the able statesmen, Gladstone, O'Connell, Brougham, Cobden and Bright. To undertake to regulate hours of labor was declared by the political economists an injurious interference with the natural laws of trade. It was urged that such restrictions would destroy the profits of the manufacturing interest, would cause decreased wages, less employment, and the shutting down of factories to the great injury of the working people, would drive capital from England and would give an advantage to foreign over home manufacturers. To place a compulsory limitation upon the time of willing, industrious laborers was declared a rank injustice, a patent violation of the recognized right of freedom of contract, but it was suggested also, apparently on the principle that "idleness is the devil's workshop" that hours of leisure might prove a disadvantage to the morals of ignorant factory operatives. The proposed restrictions were objected to also on the ground of their general inequality of effects, for it was seen to be impossible to make a law that would affect alike different

kinds of business. But stronger than the laissez-faire theories of the economists and the views of the individual and doctrinaries were human sympathy and the social conscience. The findings of a Royal Commission in 1833, appointed to investigate factory conditions, placed it beyond question that the lot of these young people was inexcusably hard and dreary. The nation's heart was stirred by the revelation; and in alleviation Parliament passed the important act of 1833. The law prohibited a child under 9 years of age from being employed at all in textile factories generally, and forbade after 1835 a child between 9 and 13 being worked over 8 hours a day, and all children under 18 being required to work for more than 69 hours a week. It made modest provisions for the children's recreation and schooling, imposed on the factories a few sanitary regulations, and, better still, provided for the appointment of inspectors, whose duty was to see that the requirements of the law were observed.

The act is noteworthy. In it the state recognized a responsibility connected with the education of its children. Its inspection feature was of value not only in enforcing the law, but also in providing reports which gave the information necessary for making later improvements in the measure. It marks a distinct advance on the part of the state in dealings with labor. For a long period the chief duty the government seemed to consider it owed to laborers was to compel them to work, to stay at home and to be satisfied with customary wages; afterwards the government, under the belief that all legal restraint on freedom of contract was harmful, gave the laborer perfect liberty to go anywhere and to work for whom or what he pleased, leaving him to take the

full consequence of his acts; and this consequence, owing to his improvident and economic dependence, turned out not infrequently to be virtual slavery, as was the case with the factory employees. But in the law of 1833 the government changed again its position, and now recognized an obligation to furnish protection to laborers not in the interest of the laboring class only, but for the good of society as well. This position the state has occupied ever since. The work of the early humanitarians, Oastler, Owen, Sadler, Southey, Coleridge, Fielding and Shaftesbury have continued to bear fruitage up into the very present, the reform of 1833 being but the first of a long series of factory and mines acts extending throughout the century. In the enforcement of the voluminous protective labor code of to-day are employed a host of inspectors, certified managers, medical men, and members of district councils, and various officials local and central. Governmental regulation of industrial pursuits is now a well established principle of English law, and generally accepted.

In the year 1834 Parliament effected another much needed reform, that of the Poor Law System. "Sturdy beggars" had received the attention of the English legislature as early as the days of the Tudors. According to an act passed in the reign of Henry VIII the able-bodied beggar was to be "whipped for the first offense; to have his right ear cropped for the second offense; and to be imprisoned, tried, and if convicted to suffer death as the enemy of the commonwealth for the third offense." Another law enacted under Edward VI ordered the idle and vagabond to be "branded with a V, and to be adjudged a slave for two years. If he ran away he was to be branded with an S, and to be a slave for

life.”⁵ Under Elizabeth in 1601 a statute was made which, seeking to check vagrancy and mendicancy, drew a clear distinction between aged and impotent persons too weak to work, and the lazy ones able but unwilling to work. The former class were to have, as a right, relief from the parish rates; the latter were to be set to work. To the tramps punishment was to be meted out. The principle was right but the statute was poorly administered. Shocked at the discomforts of the inmates of the poor houses, Parliament in the latter year of the eighteenth century in the period of warfare with America and France began sanctioning the system of relieving the poor in their homes; and of allowing from taxes “grants in aid of wages.” Two ill-advised measures passed during the reign of George III were (1) the Gilbert Act of 1782 which allowed the guardians of the poor in a parish to find for the unemployed applicant for aid work near his house,⁶ and to “add to his wages from the parish funds” if his earnings were insufficient for his maintenance; and (2) the “sliding scale act” of 1795 designed to establish an insured minimum wage for the laborers, which gave to the distressed person more money just as the price of bread rose higher, and which proportioned the size of the grant to the size of the family, the greater the number of children the larger the amount of aid assured. The measures were soon attended with most disastrous consequences. Many employers of labor began to pay less than subsistence wages, since it was seen that the laborer could depend on getting a dole from the parish funds for his support. With general wages thus reduced, numerous laborers, finding themselves faring worse than those dependent on the rates, were led to declare themselves in need of relief

money. The vast majority of the rural population losing self-reliance, were drawn into the whirlpool of pauperism. Early and improvident marriages were encouraged and profligacy and illegitimacy were fostered. Relief once obtained seemed to be regarded as a vested interest to be handed down from father to son. Much of the relief was spent for intoxicants in the dramshops. There were corruption and jobbery among officials handling the funds, the rates being used to influence the electors of parliamentary boroughs, and bribes being paid to the parish officers by the shop-keepers in order to get the pauper trade. Thieves, criminals, prostitutes, were often the recipients of relief. Under the baneful influence of the system, the poor rates steadily increased, mounting from 2,500,000 pounds in 1795 to 7,000,000 pounds in 1833. The financial burden of the system grew intolerable, and in 1834 the reform came. The new law, born out of the investigation and report of a Royal Commission that had labored on the problem two years, was sound in principle and corrective in effect. Distinguishing sharply and clearly between poverty and pauperism, the Commission recommended that "out-door relief," that is relief at home, should be given only to the aged and destitute, and that the able-bodied applicants should only get relief, excepting the form of medical attendance, by becoming an inmate of a work-house. They advised also the separation of wives from their husbands, and children from their parents while in the work-house, and that the burden of caring for an illegitimate child should be thrown on the mother. They proposed further a thoroughgoing reform of the administrative machinery of the poor-laws, by grouping parishes into unions, by concentration and improvement of the work-houses, by trans-

ferring the control hitherto exercised by magistrates, to guardians elected by the rate-payers, and by the formation of a central poor-law board of three commissioners to control and direct the whole system. The new scheme being elastic, having three sources of law-making, Parliament, the central Local Government Board, and the local Board of Guardians has in large part survived to the present. Its benefits were immediate and marked. At the time of the formation of the unions a district of four unions with a population of 41,409 inhabitants had 954 able-bodied paupers, but as early as June, 1836, there were only five. In one county, Sussex, there were 6160 paupers when the reform was made, but in less than two years the number was reduced to 124. By 1836 the rates were reduced in 22 counties on the average of $43\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The decrease of illegitimate births was phenomenal, being 10,000 or 13 per cent in two years.⁷

A thoroughgoing measure of reform gained by the Whigs in 1835 was the Municipal Corporations Act. The municipalities in origin seem to have been little settlements of tradesmen, who in mediæval times when most laborers were serfs, had gathered in some enclosed or secure place in order to carry on their trades or business with greater liberty and success. Finding that no man whose time, person, or property could be commanded by another was able to prosper in a trade, they soon began to resist all outside control, disclaiming in an independent spirit feudal obligations to neighboring lords, and eventually succeeded in winning, sometimes by force, sometimes by purchase, their full freedom. The burghers decreed freedom for their children, for those persons who had served their full apprenticeship under a

free man, and for those who married the daughters of a free man. Collected at one centre with common interests, they were soon holding meetings of the freemen to determine on measures of united action for the common good. With an increasing population, however, it became inconvenient and unsatisfactory to assemble the whole body of freemen whenever public affairs were to be discussed and regulated, and in time the management of the community's life was entrusted to committees. These committees gradually built up the towns, but they also gradually acquired all governmental authority. Under the Tudor sovereigns who wanted to conciliate these centres of industry, some of which had representatives in the Commons, many of these towns were able to secure charters of incorporation, and in most cases charters that lessened popular government. The corporation, which virtually meant the ruling body, could limit the number of freemen, and in the majority of the towns the mass of the inhabitants became at length unfree. Of Liverpool's population numbering 165,000 souls, only 5000 were free, and of Portsmouth's 46,000 only 102.⁸ When the corporation increased the number of freemen, only those were added who would be apt to further the political and material interests of those already in authority or who would support a particular candidate for the borough's seat in Parliament. Honorary freemen were often created by the corporation who were non-residents, and only visited the towns on election days. Such individuals, though termed "freemen," were merely servile underlings casting their votes at the behest of some political superior, who was in a position to confer gifts or favors. In many towns exemptions from tolls, exclusive rights of pasturage in fields belonging to the corpora-

tion, and special rights in the charitable funds, were bestowed on the freemen. In some small boroughs, everything practically had been put in the hands of the mayor. No accounts were rendered; all was done in secret. The funds of the municipality were squandered in banquets, in paying the unearned salaries attached to useless offices held by the friends and relatives of the councilmen. Valuable public contracts and property were let to councilmen at figures highly profitable to themselves, and much of the money granted for objects of local utility quickly found its way to private pockets. Of taxes raised in some boroughs 92 per cent came from the unenfranchised, 8 per cent from voters. Grave evils existed in the judicial system of some of the towns, illiterate magistrates presiding over courts that possessed the power of pronouncing even death sentences.

The act of 1835, presented by John Russell, was far-reaching in its effect. It affected an aggregate population of 2,000,000 people, and imposed on 183 boroughs, London excepted, a uniform system of government. The one supreme authority, placed in control of every department of the local government, was the town council, consisting of mayor, aldermen and councillors. The councillors were to be elected for three years' term of office by the resident rate payers, the right to vote being given to those who had paid taxes, during the three years preceding, and to those who rented property worth 10 pounds the year. The aldermen were to be elected by the councillors for 6 years' term of office, and the councillors and aldermen together were to elect the mayor who was to hold office for one year only. The proceedings of the council were to be public, and all accounts had to be audited. The bill provided that exclusive trading

privileges should be abolished and that the management of the charitable funds should be entrusted to a specially appointed board of trustees. It declared the corporation to consist of the council and the constituency, and the management of the borough funds to belong to the whole body collectively. The general result of the reform was to restore self-government in the boroughs, and to give control of public affairs to the substantial middle class.

Of the many significant reforms achieved during the period under consideration, none was more far-reaching and beneficial than that of the repeal of the corn laws. These measures formed the basis of England's tariff system, and their repeal meant the eventual fall of the entire artificial structure of protection. The laws placed high duties on different sorts of imported grain and other food products: were passed for the benefit of landlords, and were in origin largely the fruit of the teachings of the seventeenth century political economists, who held it to be an essential of right national policy to protect land. From the days of Henry VI encouragement had been given to agriculture at various times by means of placing bounties on exports, or duties on imports of grain. The most recent corn laws belonged in spirit to the age of commercial restrictions and of state interference in trade existing before the nation had learned Adam Smith's free trade principles and Jeremy Bentham's views concerning the benefits of individualism and freedom of contract. They formed a chief part of a system of protective legislation that was extended until by 1842 it had placed tariff duties on no less than 1200 articles. In 1815 excessively high corn duties were placed with the purpose of assisting the farming interests to recover from the depression

and losses that followed from the era of foreign war. Corn laws were passed in 1822 and 1828 and a sliding scale of duties was introduced, which provided a varying tariff, so that when the price of wheat grown at home was lowered the duty advanced and when it rose above a certain figure the duty was lessened. Parliament seems to have enacted such legislation in the hope of making the price of grain more stable, which did not turn out to be the case, however; and also in the belief that to insure the agriculturist a good remunerative price for his produce was to confer a blessing on the whole country. But as these measures made bread high, a result apparent and painful to the masses in times of scant harvests and of business depression, and as they restricted commerce and the purchase of English manufactured goods by foreign countries, a result injurious to the interests of the shippers and captains of industry, the beneficent nature of the laws began soon to be questioned by many. As a result in 1839 was formed at Manchester the Anti-Corn Law League. Cobden, Bright, Villiers, Wilson, and Potter were among the indefatigable workers of the League, some of whom, it is said, for the next six years met in counsel twice a day for promoting the purposes of their organization. Its financial support steadily increased from year to year, the subscriptions to the League rising from 5,000 pounds in 1839 to 250,000 pounds in 1845. The order discountenanced altogether the use of violent means to influence legislation, and made its appeal to the nation through persuasive argument solely. To the manufacturer, it said, throwing open the ports will make it possible for foreign countries to buy our factory products with their farm products; and that English manufacturing interests, having an ad-

vantage over other countries in fuel, machinery and mechanical processes, could compete successfully with foreign manufactures, did not need protection, and would acquire foreign markets for their wares; to the ship-owners and merchants, it showed that free trade meant more freightage, and greater commerce generally; to the laborer, that it would insure steady employment and at better wages in the factories; to the agriculturist, that the losses sustained on corn would be more than compensated for by the increased ability of all classes, growing out of the national prosperity, to purchase farm products; and to all the people it said the price of bread would be lowered. One plain argument it employed was to have bakers offer to customers taxed, and untaxed shilling loaves. In 1840 it distributed 160,000 circulars and 150,000 pamphlets and had its speakers to deliver as many as 400 lectures.⁹

In a few years the educational campaign began to tell in politics. Hostile newspapers admitted that "The League was a great fact"; more free traders appeared in Parliament; and the leaders of the two great parties, Russell and Peel, began to show signs of change of views. In 1842 when preparing a tariff measure Peel had refused outright to receive a deputation from the Anti-Corn Law League but by 1845 he had come himself to accept at heart the tenets of the association. He had come to believe that as a matter of abstract principle protective duties were injurious, and that to sell in the dearest and buy in the cheapest markets was the correct rule. But while his free trade sympathies were strengthening he was not yet of the opinion that as a matter of practical statesmanship and sound just policy the corn laws should be at once abolished. He was shortly forced, however,

to take a more advanced position by foreboding news from Ireland. Approaching famine was threatened by the appearance of a "blight" in the potato crop. The "potato rot" made it probable in 1845 that some 3,000,000 of persons there would soon require support from public or private relief. The disease reappeared in 1846; and not far from one-quarter of a million people died from hunger, fever, and maladies resulting from lack of food. Facing the prospect of actual famine for a great part of the nation, Peel came to the conclusion that the ports should be opened in order that the people might have bread. In the late fall of 1845 he called several sessions of his cabinet in a vain effort to gain its members to his own point of view. John Russell, the Whig leader, noticing the unusually frequent meetings of the cabinet and correctly divining the meaning of their confused counsels, saw that free trade would in all probability come quite soon. Playing for party advantage no doubt, as well as seeking the general welfare, he promptly declared himself a convert to free-trade and forthwith issued a ringing manifesto, which showed that the Whigs could be counted on to abolish the corn laws. This was November 22. Peel, the Conservative leader, was forced to act. For ten days (November 25–December 5) he did his best to win his colleagues in the ministry to stand with him for repeal, but failing in this tendered his resignation to the Queen. Russell was then summoned to form a ministry, but failed in the attempt. Peel was recalled by the Queen who reformed his ministry and carried through Parliament the repeal measure in spite of an intense and long drawn out opposition from the majority of his own party. Peel's bill was introduced January 27, 1846; but the Conservative opposition, led

by George Bentinck and Benjamin Disraeli, and using every conceivable sort of dilatory and obstructionist tactics delayed its final passage in the House until May 15th. In the Commons 223 Liberals and Whigs and 104 Conservatives voted for it and 229 Conservatives and Tories voted against it. In the House of Lords it passed without difficulty, June 25, 1846. On that very day, however, the angry Conservatives got their revenge on Peel by defeating his Coercion Bill for Ireland, which showed he could no longer hope to lead the party, and caused his immediate resignation as Prime Minister.

Especially active and demonstrative in the years 1838, 1842, 1848 was the Chartist movement. In 1842 the National Chartist Association had 40,000 members and 400 affiliated societies. Its aims were (1) manhood suffrage (2) vote by ballot (3) annual Parliaments (4) the abolition of the property qualification for the members of Parliament (5) equal electoral districts (6) the payment for service as a representative in the Commons. O'Connor was the prominent leader, whose paper, "The Northern Star," had at one time a circulation of 50,000 copies. To attract attention to their demands great mass meetings, numbering hundreds of thousands, and impressive torchlight processions at night were held, and monster petitions with millions of signatures were sent to Parliament. Peaceful methods failing, the effects of rioting, rick-burning, and strikes were here and there tried. The collapse of the movement was due in the main to the fact that the physical force group, advocating violent methods acquired predominating influence in the counsels of its supporters. But though Chartism then failed, its ideas have lived and triumphed, all of its six demands, except that for annual elections, having since been gained.

Other advances made during the era under consideration were taking from the East India Company the monopoly of the trade of the East and throwing that commerce open to the merchants of the world (1833); the commutation into money charges of tithes in kind and services in England (1836); the reform of the marriage laws, that allowed persons about to be married to choose what religious ceremony they preferred, and to marry without any if they cared to (1836); the establishment of a general registration system for births, deaths and marriages (1836); the establishment of the penny postal system (1840); the revision of the charter of the Bank of England that gave the country a safer currency, the departments of banking and issue being separated, the power of issuing money being centralized, and the provision made that beyond a certain amount no paper should be issued except against bullion only (1844); the passage of the Canada Bill that conferred on the Canadians the essentials of internal self-government (1840). In 1830 was the formal opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Steam Railway, and in 1838 a steam driven vessel crossed the Atlantic Ocean. By 1845 the blast furnace process of producing iron had been perfected, multiplying the demand for coal and increasing the pig iron output ten-fold. In 1838 Parliament in making a grant of 20,000 pounds for building new schools began laying the foundation of a national system of education. In 1836 the University of London was established and in 1850 towns were empowered to levy a small tax for the maintenance of libraries. The removal of stamp duties on newspapers and of taxes on advertisements and paper in the mid-century period advanced knowledge and enlightenment. The abolition of the window

tax in 1851 meant less disease, as did the forming of the Local Health Boards of the municipalities after the cholera visitation in 1848. The working day of the children between eight and thirteen years of age was cut to six and a half hours in 1844, and all underground work for boys under ten and for females was forbidden. In the same year imprisonment for debts below 20 pounds was abolished, and duelling was checked through an army regulation declaring "that any officer who fought a duel would be cashiered." Earlier laws had been passed for prevention of cruelty to children and animals; for stopping the brutal baiting of bulls and bears, and for insuring the employment of more humane methods of dealing with criminals and lunatics. In 1843 was opened the first public telegraph office. Indicative of the progress of the era was the great international exhibition of arts and industries held in London in 1851.

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CHAPTER VI

FOREIGN POLICY UNDER PALMERSTON

During the period 1848-1865 external events occupied the government and the public mind about as exclusively as did domestic reforms in the period 1832-1846. The forceful statesman who shaped England's foreign policy in these years was Lord Palmerston. With the return of the Whigs to power after the resignation of Peel, the Conservative leader in 1846, he was entrusted with the Foreign Office by the new Prime Minister, John Russell; and either as Secretary of Foreign Affairs or as Prime Minister he was to be in control of England's foreign relations for an almost unbroken period of twenty years. He had had five years' experience at the Foreign Office under Lord Grey, 1830-1835. England's external policy for the better part of three decades then was the work of Palmerston, one of the ablest men of his day, abler possibly than any one of the four prime ministers under whom he served, Grey, Melbourne, Russell and Aberdeen. For ten years preceding his death in 1865 he was at the head of the government, and for sixty years he was a member of the House of Commons. He was a heady, self-confident, decisive minister, having his own opinion on all diplomatic questions and not afraid to express it, and "was looked upon by his contemporaries as the ideal exponent of a 'spirited foreign policy.' " ¹

The outstanding feature of Palmerston's work in the early thirties was the union of France and England in

support of the principles of liberalism and constitutional monarchy in Europe as against the three powers of the East, Austria, Russia and Germany, that were seeking to maintain despotic rule. Contrary to the wishes of the Holy Alliance, there was established in France in 1830 by revolution a liberal constitutional monarchy under King Louis Philippe. The controlling power in this government of the Citizen King was lodged in the hands of the well-to-do middle classes. England was also a constitutional monarchy, governed until 1832 by a nobility and landed aristocracy chiefly, but then experiencing a political revolution that put in control the middle classes also. With similar institutions and like liberal tendencies it was not unnatural for the two countries to draw together when acting in regard to agitations in neighboring states that sought to get rid of absolutism and to establish forms of government not unlike theirs.

The separation of Belgium from Holland and its creation into a strong independent kingdom (1830-31) was largely the work of England and France, done in direct opposition to the will of the Holy Allies. To bring the King of Holland to terms the two Western powers placed an embargo on Dutch ships, blockaded the Scheldt, and besieged Antwerp.² The French interfered at the first, it seems, with the ambitious designs not only of assisting the Belgians to throw off the yoke of Holland and to set up a government for themselves but also of annexing their territory to free France; but Palmerston's diplomacy and firmness thwarted that plan. At his insistence the French troops who had crossed into Belgium were withdrawn.

About the same time (1831-1833) France and Eng-

land were led to interfere in Portugal. Don Miguel, a cruel despot, had committed frequent unjustifiable acts of violence against Englishmen and Frenchmen that had been accused of political offenses. Palmerston by dispatching six warships to the Tagus had obtained a pecuniary indemnity and public apology (May, 1831) and France had carried off some of the best ships of the Portuguese navy (July, 1831) when a movement was set on foot by Don Pedro, to remove from the throne his brother, the absolute Don Miguel, and establish constitutional rule under his daughter, later the Queen Maria. While the two Western powers as governments professed a strict neutrality, they allowed an amount of volunteer assistance that enabled the liberal constitutional party to triumph. Don Pedro's troops were in large part French and English volunteers, a Frenchman commanded his army and an Englishman his fleet. Pedro's forces took the capitol on the 24th of July, 1833.

In Spain there was a contest also in 1833 between a young queen representing liberal principles of government and an uncle representing arbitrary rule. Isabella, the three-year-old Queen, and her mother, Christina, the Regent, who succeeded to the throne at the death of Ferdinand VII, being supported by the constitutionalists of Spain and other countries, were able not only to hold their own against Don Carlos, but even to expel him eventually from the country, though he had the friendship of the clergy, peasantry, old nobility and absolutists. When Don Carlos and Don Miguel threatened to make common cause against the young queen, Palmerston decided to intervene, and arranged an alliance of Spain, Portugal, France and England to expel the two men

from the Peninsula. Spain and Portugal were to have, if needed, the assistance of a French Army and an English Fleet. In this support of constitutionalism Palmerston probably had as his main purpose directing a blow against Russia, Prussia and Austria, the allied absolute powers of the East. The liberal party triumphed in Spain as in Portugal, though Don Carlos did not lay down his arms until 1840.

Palmerston would have been glad for Poland to have been successful in her revolt against Russia in 1830, and in all probability would have given help, had he not feared lest England's aid to the insurrectionists might cause Russia to try to inflict injury on England's interests in the East. It was against the vigorous protests of both England and France that Russia interfered in Turkey at the call of the Sultan, hard-pressed by the Pasha of Egypt, and made with the Porte the advantageous Treaty of Unkiar Skelesi,³ July 8, 1833. This treaty opened the Bosphorus to the Russians and closed the Dardanelles to the war ships of other powers, an advance for Russia that threatened the security of England's road to India.

In the trying years of 1848-49 when a wave of revolution was sweeping throughout almost every country of Europe, Palmerston pursued the cautious policy of non-intervention. While he hated to see the constitutional struggles in Italy and Germany put down by Austria, and the uprising in Hungary crushed out by Austria and Russia, he would not give those in revolt any military aid but only pressed counsels of peace and order on the contending parties, a great disappointment to the patriots. He correctly divined no doubt that England's entrance into the widespread crusade for national rights would

engage her in a war with most of the governments of Europe.

In France the revolution of 1848 substituted a republic under Louis Napoleon for the monarchy of Louis Philippe, and by 1852 Napoleon had made himself Emperor. Palmerston preferred the stronger government of the empire to the republic that had been full of shams, and hastened, therefore, before first getting the sanction of the Queen and the Ministry, to notify the French Ambassador of his recognition of the new imperial government. His audacity was not relished by Victoria, nor by the Prime Minister, John Russell; and as a result he was dismissed from office. Palmerston, however, got even with Russell two months later, leading a group of Russell's friends into the Opposition lobby against the Militia Bill, which defeated the measure and caused the overthrow of the Whig ministry. But the Conservative ministry of Lord Derby lasted only a few months (Feb.—Dec., 1852), and by the end of the year, 1852, a Whig ministry was again in power of which both Palmerston and Russell were members. By 1855 Palmerston had been put at the head of the government, and with the exception of one brief intermission (Feb., 1858, to June, 1859, when the Conservatives under Lord Derby were again in control) he held the office of Prime Minister until his death in 1865.

In 1855 the Crimean War was being waged. The conflict had begun by Russia's sending an ambassador, Prince Menshikov, to Constantinople demanding a formal treaty from the Sultan granting Russia the right of protecting the Greek Christians in the East. The English ambassador at the Porte, Stratford, considered that Menshikov's demands virtually meant "the surrender to Russian

influence, management and authority of the Greek churches and clergy throughout Turkey, and eventually, therefore, of the whole Greek population dependent on the priests." ⁴ Realizing that Russia's move had as its ulterior purpose territorial aggression on Turkey, which neither France nor England fancied, Stratford, in company with the French Ambassador, persuaded the Sultan to refuse Menshikov's request, whereupon Czar Nicholas ordered a military force to occupy Roumania, a part of the Sultan's dominions, which being done soon led to a union of England and France against Russia, and to open warfare. Russia's troops entered Turkish territory in July, 1853, and a few months later a Russian squadron destroyed a Turkish fleet at Sinope. England and France then sent their warships through the Bosphorus, forcing the Russians to take refuge in the harbour of Sebastopol (January, 1854). They next issued an ultimatum to the Czar, threatening hostility unless he withdrew his forces from Turkish territory. Their order was disregarded, and they declared war, March 27, 1854. Though Lord Aberdeen was the Prime Minister at this time, it was his Secretary, Palmerston, that pressed England on to the contest, and when general dissatisfaction with Aberdeen's slack and dilatory conduct of the war caused his resignation in 1855, it was the energetic Palmerston who was given his office. In May, 1855, Victor Immanuel, King of Sardinia, added some of his troops to the military forces of England and France. The war lasted two years, cost England 77,000,000 pounds, added 33,000,000 to the national debt, and took the lives of 20,000 British soldiers, most of whom died from disease and neglect due to inexcusable army mismanagement. The siege of Sebastopol by the allied forces lasted 11

months, and cost 100,000 lives. In the famous charge of the Light Brigade, caused by a misinterpreted order,—forward for a mile and a half under a concentrated fire from all sides, and then return,—there was a loss of 113 killed and 154 wounded out of 670 cavalrymen. The want of proper shelter, diet, medicines, nursing, and hospital service caused a frightful death-rate, thousands dying from cholera, scurvy, dysentery, and fever. Before Florence Nightingale and her nurses had introduced better conditions, the daily average of the sick for awhile was not much under 14,000 patients. With the fall of Sebastopol, September 5, 1855, the defence of which cost Russia not far from 250,000 lives, the war drew towards a close. The peace terms were not concluded, however, until the Treaty of Paris, March 30, 1856. This agreement⁵ provided for Russia's restoration of Turkish territory occupied during the war; the recognition of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire and its admission as a state into the "concert of Europe"; the promise of non-intervention on the part of European states in Turkey's internal affairs; the promise of the Sultan to better protect his Christian subjects; the prohibition of the ships-of-war of any other nation entering the Black Sea, and of the establishing of arsenals on its coasts by Russia or Turkey; the free navigation of the Danube; the abolition of Russia's protectorate over Moldavia and Wallachia, and the independent administration of these provinces under the suzerainty of the Sultan and the joint guarantee of the powers. In this war England had successfully thwarted Russia, saving Turkey from her grasp; but she did not succeed in her hopes of permanently checking or crippling Russia or of reforming the Ottoman State. The Eastern Question still remained. The war showed to England

the ill preparedness of her military organizations; gave to the Turkish government an increased importance, added to the French military glory, and secured to the Sardinians the friendship of France that aided them in ousting Austria from Lombardy in 1859. The treaty, a European settlement, received the signatures of Austria, England, Piedmont, France, Russia and Turkey.

In 1856 England became involved in a brief war with Persia. The Shah, at the instigation of Russia had tried to conquer Afghanistan and had laid siege to Herat. To keep this difficult mountainous country, Afghanistan, as a buffer state between Russia and India was, and is, England's aim. Palmerston felt that Persia's advance should be resisted on the principle of repelling "the first opening of trenches against India by Russia." Then too the Shah was not observing his treaty obligations with England. Friendly remonstrances having failed, a military and naval force under the command of Sir James Outram was promptly sent to the Persian Gulf, the port of Bushire was captured, and an inland advance under Outram and Havelock made that resulted in capturing one or two fortified stations, in defeating the Persian troops that offered resistance, and in the Shah's evacuation of Herat and suit for peace. In March, 1857, a peace treaty was signed in which the Shah promised a withdrawal of troops from Herat, a relinquishment of all claims of sovereignty over any part of Afghanistan, an abstention from all interference with the independence of the state, and the submission for settlement of all differences that might arise with Russia to the friendly offices of the British government before recourse should be had to arms.

In 1856 Palmerston decided to make war on China because officials there had seized a vessel flying the English flag. The ship seems to have been a piratical craft, but none the less the Prime Minister interpreted the act as an insult to the flag, as did the English people, and hostilities were begun. Owing to the outbreak of a serious mutiny in India, to suppress which demanded the whole strength and attention of the government for a year or more, the Chinese quarrel was not settled until 1860. In 1858 ⁶ Peking was threatened by a fleet and army, forts on the Peiho River were stormed, and the Emperor forced to promise reparation and the opening of certain ports. But the engagements made in this Treaty of Tien-Tsing (1858) the Chinese government did not keep. So in 1859 the English, incensed by the murder of certain British envoys and supported now by the French, who had grievances also, stormed the forts again, took Peking and plundered and burnt the Emperor's Summer Palace. China then yielded. An indemnity of 8,000,000 taels was imposed, the port of Tien-Tsing was opened to British trade, a small part of Canton was ceded to Great Britain, as the dependency of Hongkong; and the former Treaty of Tien-Tsing was properly ratified. This provided for the opening of several ports, the having of consuls, the statement of the judicial rights of subjects, and the permanent establishment at Peking of a British Minister.

In these same years (1859-61) the Italians under Victor Emmanuel, Cavour and Garibaldi were building up a United Italy, by overthrowing the petty princes of Central Italy and pressing back Austria, a feat very pleasing to Palmerston. In 1861 the new kingdom was pro-

claimed, which included then all of Italy except Rome and Venice, the one held by the Pope supported by the Catholic French until 1870 and the other held by Austria until 1866.

In the desperate, unsuccessful Polish insurrection against Russian control in 1862-63, and in the Schleswig-Holstein secession from Denmark made possible by the assistance rendered by Austria and especially by Prussia, which latter kingdom eventually got the duchies, Palmerston remonstrated, but in vain, in the interest of the Poles and Danes. Had Napoleon III been willing to co-operate with him, an armed intervention of the French and English would probably have occurred.

In the American War of Secession (1861-1865) Palmerston was not slow in recognizing the Confederates as belligerents, an act very objectionable to the Federals, but not displeasing to many Englishmen. While there was a considerable body of people in England who favored the North as being engaged in a crusade for the abolition of slavery, there was also a large party favorable to the South, some of whom disliked the Northerners as commercial rivals and high protectionists, others of whom regarded the Confederates as in a noble struggle for freedom, and still others who "thought that the balance of power in the world would be better kept if the vast republic in the West split asunder." The effects of the Federal blockade of southern ports were keenly felt in Great Britain. Since as yet India and Egypt were not serious rivals of America in cotton growing, the Lancashire cotton factories were directly dependent on Southern exports of raw material. In this industry the manufacturers had to cease operations, and "skilled artisans were thrown out of work at the rate of 10,000

a week." In the latter part of 1862 many of the laboring population of the cotton factory districts had to be supported by charity. The Government gave 600,000 pounds for their aid and 2,000,000 more were raised by general subscriptions.⁷ "In December, 1862, some 50,000 persons were receiving regular relief, and the weekly loss of wages was estimated at 168,000 pounds."⁸

England was brought perilously near to war with the Federal government when the British naval steamer "Trent" voyaging between neutral ports was stopped by the Captain of a Federal man-of-war, in order to take from it two Confederate envoys, Mason and Slidell, who were on their way from Havana to Europe. At one time in the controversy, before the captives were surrendered, Palmerston began to send into Canada a considerable army; the militia and volunteers in the province were put upon a war footing; and fiery feeling was kindled throughout the United Kingdom in vindication of insulted honor. This state of opinion in England accounted in part for the ease with which Confederate agents succeeded in having fitted out in British dockyards destructive privateers, such as the *Alabama*, *Georgia*, *Florida*, *Shenandoah* and *Rappahannock*. The failure of the English government to detain the *Alabama* after having been notified by the Federal authorities that the vessel was a Southern war ship in disguise, cost Great Britain 3,000,000 pounds, an award granted in 1872 by a board of arbitration sitting at Geneva. Palmerston's ministry hardly reckoned that their Southern sympathies would cost England quite so much in gold. When this war closed in April, 1865, Palmerston was but within a few months of the end of his long and active career. He died October 18, 1865, at the advanced age of 81.

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CHAPTER VII

THE MINISTRY OF RUSSELL 1865-1866

With the death of Palmerston in 1865, the veteran Whig, Earl John Russell, at the advanced age of 74 succeeded to the Premiership.

Just after accession to power the government received news of a negro insurrection in Jamaica. A considerable crowd of blacks having grievances as to wages, rents and administration of law and justice, but especially angered by an attempt to arrest and punish some of their number who had beaten a policeman, began rioting. They broke into stores, into the jail, burnt the court house, killed 18 men at the start, and then scattered in parties through the country, attacking plantations and murdering some of the whites. Martial law was proclaimed in the district of revolt by Mr. Eyre, Governor of the island; troops were sent in, and the infliction of most summary punishments begun. Though the rebellion was quickly put down, martial law continued in force for three weeks longer and vengeance was not satisfied before a thousand dwellings were burned, 439 persons put to death, and 600 more, many of them women, severely flogged. One Mr. Gordon, a proprietor and Baptist preacher, who was wrongly supposed to have inspired the insurrection, was tried by court martial, condemned on the flimsiest sort of evidence and executed. Such murderous proceedings in the name of law stirred up so much criticism in England,

that the government was led to appoint a commission to enquire into the facts of the situation. The commissioners reported that while the rising was of a most dangerous character, and Governor Eyre was to be commended for his promptness, skill and vigour in suppressing it, still martial law had been continued much too long, that executions had been too frequent, that the burning of many houses was wanton and cruel, and much of the flogging entirely barbarous. Governor Eyre was therefore recalled to England, where for several years vain efforts were made by a group of men to prosecute him for "high crimes and misdemeanors in acts of alleged abuse and oppression under colour of execution of his office as Governor of the Island."¹ But as Eyre's wrong acts were committed in efforts to assert English authority and supremacy, they were apt to be condoned by a considerable section of the British public. The grand jury threw out all bills brought against him, and in 1872 Parliament showed its attitude by voting a sum of money to repay him for expenses incurred in defending himself.

In 1865 serious trouble arose in Ireland. The Fenian Brotherhood, a secret society formed as early as 1858 in the state of New York and composed chiefly of Irish-Americans, was planning a military revolt that sought not only the independence of the island, but also a general subversion of society and a wholesale redistribution of property. The unhappy state of that country, its political subjugation, its racial and religious animosities, its agrarian grievances and economic ills, such as absenteeism of landlords, unfair rents, frequent ejection of tenants without compensation for improvements made, lack of employment, scarcity of capital and general poverty had caused for some years a constantly swelling

stream of emigrants to seek their fortune across the Atlantic in the United States. In this democratic land they soon acquired the franchise and, being courted for their votes as their numbers increased, they gained as men and citizens a new sense of their influence and importance. In witnessing and taking part in the great national party contests and elections, they learned the value and methods of political organization, and thousands of them having been employed in the armies of both the North and South during the four years' Civil War got knowledge and training as soldiers. In 1865, the close of the war bringing their disbandment, they decided to employ their powers in an attempt to free the land of their birth. Fenian outbreaks of varying character appeared at different times and places,—in Ireland, in England and in Canada—but all miserably failed, the treacherous informer so common in secret societies revealing to the government the designs of the organization. It was discovered that the Fenians had their factories for making bullets, pikes and cartridges; that they were making efforts to win over the state garrisons and troops; that their agents were scattered all through the country swearing in new supporters: and that hundreds of men had been brought in from England and Scotland and were being paid regular wages for the sole purpose of assisting at the proper time in the insurrection. Alarmed by all this, Parliament, at the request of the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, called a special meeting and suspended the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland. Over a hundred arrests were promptly made. The Fenians became frightened and the Irish-Americans in considerable numbers quickly embarked for America. In May, 1866, over a thousand of their class crossed the Niagara river

and invaded Canada, only to be repulsed at once, however, by the loyal militia. Six of the invaders were captured, court-martialed and shot. The raiders no doubt hoped for assistance from the United States, but that Government promptly denounced the movement, and declared its unwillingness to permit on its boundary hostile operations against a friendly power. The Fenians had imagined they could further their projects by taking advantage of the strained relations existing between England and the United States at the close of the Civil War: an estrangement due to the supposed not unfriendly attitude of England toward the South in that conflict and to such indirect aid to the Confederacy as was represented in the still unadjudicated case of the Alabama Claims. The Irish were attempting, it seems, to embroil the two nations in strife. Among the Fenian activities in Ireland were mismanaged attacks on political barracks, raids on coast-guard stations to get arms and ammunition, cutting telegraph wires, and placing obstructions on railways. One effect of these troubles was to direct the mind of England to a consideration of the needs of Ireland, which was a preparation for the work of Gladstone for this country when later becoming Prime Minister.

Russell's ministry marks the introduction of a new order in English political life. With the passing of Palmerston and the rise to influence of Gladstone begins an era of democratic liberalism. Palmerston possessed the staid conservatism of the aristocratic Old Whigs. He had been in the House of Commons for more than a half century. For the greater part of this time he held office in a Whig or Liberal ministry; and like the majority of his party had faith in middle class rule but distrusted the masses. The proposals of the few radicals in Parlia-

ment and the noisy demands of the Chartists outside did not win his favor or support. His recognized aversion and opposition to political innovations gained for him the allegiance of not a few Conservatives and Tories, who being unable to put one of their own party at the head of the government supported Palmerston for fear that a more radical Liberal might come into power. He did not consider it wise to increase the political power of the people by lowering further the franchise; and had taken as long a stride as he intended to take in this direction in 1832 when the middle class, the merchants and 10 pound house-holders were brought into the electorate. Since 1855 he had been at the head of the Liberal party; but he had restrained rather than encouraged the efforts of the few bolder spirits within it who believed improvements might be made in the constitution. One of these was William Ewart Gladstone, the ablest member in Palmerston's cabinet, who for six years had been Chancellor of the Exchequer and whose successful financial budgets and efficient administration of office had revealed him to the nation as a statesman of the first rank. He did not like Palmerston's habit of making great expenditures of the people's money on military purposes and contingencies, nor his way of diverting the nation's thought from the consideration of needed home reforms. He believed too the time was at hand for a widening of the electorate. Palmerston was well aware of his opposition and restiveness. "When that man gets my place," the Prime Minister had said, "we shall have strange doings."

Gladstone was an extraordinary man and had a remarkable career. He was four times made Prime Minister, heading four different administrations. He was for

twenty years a Cabinet officer, for over fifty years a member of the Privy Council, and for more than sixty years a member of the House of Commons. Almost from his first entrance into Parliament (1833) at the early age of 23 just after his graduation at Oxford University where he had taken a double first in classics and mathematics, until his death (1898) at the advanced age of eighty-eight he was recognized as a public man of special influence and weight. For three decades at least, he was the foremost man in the House of Commons. He was a great admirer of Robert Peel. Both were progressive, openminded students and statesmen ever seeking more light on political problems, and ready, notwithstanding the charge of instability or inconsistency, to change position and take new and advanced ground on a question when a better understanding of the facts in the case seemed to warrant it. Peel's great apostasy was his turning on the corn law question from protection to approximately free trade. Gladstone in early years opposed many causes which in later life he most ardently championed. In 1833 he fought against the admission of Jews to Parliament, but in 1847 he voted for the removal of Jewish disabilities. The views he expressed on the subject of slavery in 1833 he himself declared six years later to possess "sad defects." In the opening decade of his public life he was a staunch Tory but he became the recognized head of the Liberal Party for a quarter of a century, and the accepted leader too eventually of the Irish and the Radicals. Since 1852 he and a few more Peelite Tories, or advanced Conservatives, had become incorporated with the Whigs and Liberals. In 1865 at Palmerston's death he took his place as leader of the Liberals in the House of Commons. And in

1866 he was championing the cause of electoral reform.

Very moderate in its proposals was Russell's franchise measure laid before the House by Gladstone. Only 400,000 voters were to be added to an electorate of 2,000,000. But none the less it displeased a faction of 30 or 40 unprogressive spirits of the Liberal party. The Conservatives with the aid of this disaffected group defeated the measure and dismissed the ministry. On a high patriotic key were some of Gladstone's speeches made at the time answering in debate his opponents who objected to those who were to be added to the voting list as "venal, ignorant, drunken, unreflective, violent people." "Some gentlemen," he said, "deal with (electoral) statistics, as if they were ascertaining the numbers of an invading army. But the persons to whom their remarks apply are our fellow-subjects, our fellow-Christians, our own flesh and blood who have been lauded to the skies for their good conduct." . . . "You cannot fight against the future, time is on our side. The great social forces which move on in their might and majesty, and which the tumult of our debates does not for a moment impede or disturb—those great social forces are against you; they are marshalled on our side; and the banner which we now carry in the fight though perhaps at some moment it may droop over our sinking heads, yet it soon again will float in the eye of Heaven, and it will be borne by the firm hands of the united people of the three kingdoms, perhaps not to an easy, but to a certain and to a not far distant victory." ²

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CHAPTER VIII

THE DERBY-DISRAELI MINISTRY 1866-1868

In the work of the Derby-Disraeli ministry which extended from June, 1866, to December, 1868, the hand of Disraeli, Gladstone's life-long rival, is evident from first to last.

He had long been the trusted lieutenant of Derby, and now that the latter was feeling the weight of years, he was not loth to let rest upon the shoulders of the younger man a full share of the responsibilities and burdens of government and political leadership. In February, 1868, when Lord Derby, being nearly 70 years old, and failing in health, retired, Disraeli succeeded to the premiership, thus realizing the bold and definitely avowed ambition of his early manhood.

Original and unique is his character, surprising and inspiring his career. He was born of Jewish parentage and was as an infant "duly initiated into the covenant of Abraham." At the age of twelve, however, his father having already broken with the synagogue on account of the imposition of a fine, the boy was baptized a Christian and became a member of the Church of England. He was "born in a library," he once said. He was at home in the fashionable world, foppish in his dress "with gorgeous waistcoats, tasselled canes, flashing rings, dangling gold chains and velvet coats." He was brilliant in conversation, his wit and repartee reflecting intellec-

tual powers of the highest order. He was a writer of popular political novels. Pure courage and unconquerable will were prominent in the make-up of the man. He was defeated at the polls four times in succession in his candidacy at the first for Parliament. Elected, he tried in vain for twenty minutes to make his "maiden speech" in the House of Commons, his voice being drowned over and over again by the hoots and jeers of hostile opponents there. For fifty years he was the "best abused man of his time . . . accused of nearly every crime in the political decalogue."¹ From a disfranchised race was the blood in his veins, yet his genius and industry and fighting carried him to the very top. He was prominent in the House of Commons for nearly forty years. He was raised to the peerage, being made Earl of Beaconsfield in 1876. He was twice prime-minister, becoming the personal friend of the Queen and the statesman of especial influence at Court. Among his honours were a D.C.L. of Oxford University, an LL.D. of Edinburgh University, the Lord Rectorship of Glasgow University, and Knight of the Garter. Considered at first a mere political adventurer and regarded therefore with suspicion by conservative men in Parliament he in the end became the head, guide, and spokesman of that very class. He proved a cherished friend of the landed and propertied classes, and a staunch loyalist to Church, Country and Queen. Building up and "educating" the Conservative party he inserted in its creed two positive and somewhat new ideas: viz. (1) legislation for but not by the masses, and (2) imperialism.

As a political leader, he did not prize highly the jewel of consistency. Since he had opposed the recent measure of the Russell ministry for enlarging the electorate, it

seems surprising that he should no sooner come into power as leader of the Commons than he proposed himself a reform bill. "The truth is," he once said, "the statesman is the creature of his age, the creation of his times. He is essentially a practical character, and when he is called upon to take office, he is not to inquire what his opinions might or might not have been upon this or that subject. He is only to ascertain the needful and the beneficial. I laugh therefore at the objections against a man that at a former period of his career he advocated a policy different from his present one. All I seek to ascertain is, whether his present policy be just, necessary, expedient; whether at the present moment he is prepared to serve the country according to its present necessities." ² Now while the nation had seemed apathetic toward suffrage reform during the debates on the recently defeated bill, no sooner had that bill been rejected than there suddenly sprung up a vigorous widespread agitation for it. Peoples' leagues and workingmen's associations were formed, issuing their protests and resolutions; street processions, open-air mass-meetings, floods of oratory, and monster popular demonstrations of varying character gave publicity, and called general attention to the demand. The refusal of the government to allow a big public meeting of the reformers to be held in Hyde Park, London, in July, 1866, resulted in violent disorders. The gates being closed, the crowd made their entrance by tearing down long stretches of the iron railings encircling it; the police were attacked with missiles; and later there was a good deal of window smashing in this fashionable quarter. Disraeli saw that the nation was bent on having a parliamentary reform measure, and being fully persuaded that if the

Conservative Ministry did not give it a Liberal Ministry would, he determined to have the credit of leading in its enactment. He was averse to democracy; he knew that his party as a whole did not desire any such reform; and he probably expected, as turned out to be the case, that some of his colleagues in the Cabinet would resign before they would support him in such legislation; but none the less, confident that franchise revision was coming, he resolved to have the shaping of it, hoping possibly to quiet popular clamour by a measure less radical than one passed by the Liberal Party.

His resolutions (February 11, 1867) and bill (March 18, 1867) were neither frank nor democratic. While on their face they wore the purpose of lowering and widening the franchise, and of increasing the political representation and power of the labor classes, yet by an ingenious system of "fancy franchises," double voting, checks and balances, they really offset the political influence of these newly enfranchised lower classes by a correspondingly enlarged influence of the higher and wealthier classes. The Liberals who desired reform but not of this sort, criticised the bill most fiercely. Bright said it bore "upon its face the marks of deception and disappointment." Gladstone called it a "gigantic instrument of fraud." The opposition under his leadership began to amend and mutilate as much as possible the measure, hoping to defeat the ministry; but discovered that Disraeli instead of holding firmly to the principles of his bill and being ready to resign when unable to carry his proposal through the House, gracefully yielded to the opposition point after point, amendment after amendment, declaring that he regarded the alterations after all as matters not of vital import but of detail

only. Before the opposition was through with its changes, the bill had been all made over, becoming a very democratic measure and incorporating into the electorate a larger number of persons than had been suggested hitherto even by the Liberal chiefs. Gladstone secured³ (1) the omission of the dual vote, (2) the omission of the educational franchise, (3) the omission of the savings bank franchise, (4) the reduction of the county franchise, (5) a provision to prevent traffic in votes, (6) a reduction of the residential qualification for the borough vote from 2 years to 1 year, (7) the introduction of a lodger franchise, (8) the abolition of the proposed safeguard that the franchise of the householder should depend on the personal payment of rates, with the effect of conferring the vote on the householder whether he paid the rate direct in person, or through a landlord, and (9) alterations concerning voting papers, redistribution of a few seats and other minor provisions. As finally passed the bill gave votes in the boroughs to all male householders and to all lodgers who had resided in the place one year and who paid 10 pounds in rent; and in the counties to all persons who owned property yielding 5 pounds annual income and to all occupiers or tenants paying in rent 12 pounds a year. It nearly doubled the number of voters. The agricultural laborers, however, were not brought into the electorate at this time. Their enfranchisement came with the passage of the Gladstone's Reform Bill in 1884. This measure of 1867 was more of Gladstone's than of Disraeli's. The Duke of Buccleuch considered the "only part due to her Majesty's Government was the introductory word 'Whereas.'" Disraeli, had the satisfaction, however, of having cleverly steered the bill through Parliament.

The Derby-Disraeli ministry had to handle several delicate questions of foreign policy. In Abyssinia the king, Theodore, had imprisoned several British subjects, among whom were missionaries, Bible society agents, and two special envoys sent from England to treat with the ruler; and, in spite of England's threat of making war on his kingdom unless he soon freed the captives, had heedlessly continued their incarceration. Theodore was a usurper who ruled in a small empire filled with insurrection. He lived in a state surrounded by Mohammedan and Negro powers, and as a representative of the Coptic Christians, he had met opposition from the French Catholic missionaries. His reason for seizing the Englishmen seems to have been his suspicion that they were intriguing with the Moslem Turks, against him. While a small relief party might have sufficed to release the few prisoners, the British Government deemed it best in order that England's prestige might be elevated in the eyes of the East, to equip an army of 12,000 men drawn in the main from the Indian forces, and to march the whole of it on Magdala, the Abyssinian capital. The city was 400 miles distant, across a difficult unknown country, poorly watered, lacking roads and means of transit, and traversed by deep ravines and mountain barriers. The expedition under the command of Sir Robert Napier, a military officer of high authority in the Bombay presidency and a civil engineer of experience and repute, was prudently conducted and altogether successful. The army started in January, 1868, and in April the fortress of Magdala was taken, the Abyssinian troops having been quickly defeated by the mere baggage guard of the English. The captives were discovered unharmed and were released. King Theodore, humiliated and

frightened, in despair committed suicide. By May the attacking party was safe at home again. This imperial "hoisting of the standard of St. George on the mountains of Rasselas," as Disraeli proudly spoke of it, cost the nation 8,000,000 pounds.

In June, 1866, broke out the great Austro-Prussian War. These countries had quarreled over the division and government of the Schleswig-Holstein territory taken from Denmark in 1864. Prussia, supported by Italy and having superior arms, notably the new rapid-fire breech-loading "needle-gun," quickly gained a complete victory. While the Austrians whipped the Italians at Custozza, and later won a naval engagement at Lissa, these successes counted for little in face of the crushing defeat by the Prussians at Sadowa, in which the Austrian loss was 40,000 men. In less time than two months from the opening of hostilities Austria sued for peace. Prussia got the Schleswig-Holstein territory, ousted altogether Austria from control in German affairs, and assumed herself the leadership of North Germany, annexing Nassau, Hesse-Cassel, Hanover, Hamburg, and the Elbe Duchies, and forming a confederation destined to expand soon into the powerful German Empire. In this "battle of giants," as Disraeli termed the contest, England maintained a strict policy of non-intervention. Great Britain along with France and Russia had attempted the rôle of peace-making before the disputants had come to blows; but the war once on the nation did not interfere in the least. At its close, however, England joined the Continental Powers in a Conference in London. In consideration of the feelings of the French, they ordered the menacing fortress of Luxemburg destroyed, and the Prussian garrison recently placed there

withdrawn; also collectively they guaranteed the neutrality of the Luxemburg territory.

The policy of non-intervention was pursued likewise with reference to the military conflict in Italy in 1866 and in the French-Mexican affair of 1876. The Italians, having just added to their state Venetia, a reward for assisting Prussia in the Austro-Prussian War, were full now of the desire to annex Rome, papal territory, and thus make the Italian kingdom coextensive with the whole Peninsula. A body of volunteers, led by the heroic Garibaldi, marched on the capital, but were repulsed by French and papal troops, Napoleon III, Emperor of Catholic France, having sent a part of his army to support the Pope. While the sympathy of England seems to have been with the Italian patriots no governmental favors were accorded them. And in June, 1867, when Napoleon III's ambitious scheme for an empire in Mexico ended in the tragic execution of the Emperor Maximilian, the French troops that supported him having to be withdrawn at the threat of intervention on the part of the United States and the Mexicans having taken and shot him, no judgment whatever on the affair was recorded by the British Parliament. There was considerable excitement over the sad occurrence; still the Foreign Secretary, Lord Stanley, was opposed to the government's taking any action. He would have it remembered "that whatever the power and influence of the House might be, it was only the Parliament of the United Kingdom and not of the world." ⁴ Disraeli justified the ministry's course of abstention from interference in these various conflicts as follows: "In announcing our policy to be a policy of non-interference, all we mean to say is, that we will not exhaust the energies nor waste the treas-

ure of this country by interfering in continental struggles to uphold an imaginary and fallacious balance of power. But because we thus announce what we call a policy of non-interference, we do not mean to say that we will not act when the interests and honour of England require it; and because we maintain a policy of non-interference of the character I have described, that is no reason why we should not sympathize with other nations. . . . Our interest is that there should be peace in Europe."

An important development within this empire in February, 1867, was the confederation of the British North American Provinces. The Canadian States united under a constitution that provided for a Governor-General appointed by the Crown, for a Senate whose members were appointed for life by the Governor-General; and for a lower House elected by the people of the provinces. Legal affairs were to be cared for by the provincial legislative bodies. With the exception of having their chief executive sent over by the Home Government, the Canadian Dominion became virtually an independent power, having been given entire command of its military forces, commerce, law-making and taxes. The larger freedom strengthened rather than weakened the loyalty of the country to Great Britain.

In the spring of 1868 the disaffected state of Ireland again demanded the government's consideration. While the agrarian grievances about leases, rents and evictions, the resident Englishman's treatment of the Irish as a social inferior, the socialistic spirit of some classes, and the Fenian nationalistic activities were all causing troubles, the special grievance was the compulsory support of the Protestant Church Establishment. To meet the Irish

situation the Conservative ministry had nothing thoroughgoing or generous to propose, offering only remedial or coercive measures of small scope for ills which they would like to have considered as transitory and on the decline. Their plans of providing a Catholic ministry, of a readjustment of church property, of appointment of commissions of enquiry, and of dependence on force and of suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act did not meet with approval from the Liberals who considered the schemes insufficient, impracticable and purposefully dilatory. The opposition desired a measure that would more nearly touch the root of the matter. When therefore Gladstone boldly presented a set of resolutions proposing nothing less than the complete disestablishment of the Protestant Church in Ireland, and declaring it to be an Anglican anachronism and an abuse productive of much ill-will for England, the Liberals as a body flocked to his standard. The Irish, the Nationalists, the Radicals, the faction of the Liberals that broke with the party on the Russell Reform Bill, the Catholics and the secularists all came to Gladstone's support. The ministry opposed the resolutions on several grounds. It was argued that the state endowed church "prevented government from degenerating into mere police," that the state connection could promote or insure freedom in religious practices and worship within the church itself; that disestablishment was an attack upon property rights; and that to disestablish the Irish Church would lead in time to disestablishment of the Church in England. Disraeli declared the crisis was in England rather than in Ireland. "The purpose is now avowed," he said, "and that by a powerful party, of destroying that sacred union between Church and State which has hitherto been

the chief means of our civilization and is the only security of our religious liberty." ⁵ But on April 13, Gladstone's first resolution was carried in the House by a majority of 65, and with this clear defeat Disraeli had either to resign or dissolve Parliament and appeal to the country on the question. He chose the latter course. Time was allowed at the request of the Prime Minister for passing into law a few bills nearing completion, such as the reform measures for Scotland and Ireland kin in principle and purpose to the recently enacted English electoral reform measure; and then Parliament was first prorogued (July 31), and a little later (November 11th) was dissolved. In the general election in the fall the Conservatives suffered an overwhelming defeat, the new constituencies formed by the Reform Act of 1867 voting generally for the Liberals who gained the big majority of 112 seats.

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CHAPTER IX

GLADSTONE'S FIRST MINISTRY

1868-1874

Gladstone's first ministry extended over five years (December, 1868, to February, 1874). Believing he had been elected to power for the very purpose of pacifying Ireland, he undertook at once a settlement of the Church question. The provisions of his measure included (1) the severance of the union existing between the churches of England and Ireland, (2) the immediate disendowment of the Irish Church; that is to say, that all its property, consisting of buildings, land, tithes and money, valued at near 16,000,000 pounds, was to be transferred to the nation, (3) the restoration of about 10,000,000 pounds of this wealth to the new voluntary, independent church in compensation for vested interests and commutations of salaries, (4) the appropriation of the surplus to the support of hospitals, lunatic asylums, educational institutions for the deaf and dumb, and like agencies seeking to relieve unavoidable calamities for which the Poor Law did not already provide, and (5) the legal disestablishment of the Church of Ireland from January 1, 1871. A grant made by the state to the Catholic Training College of Maynooth and one to the Presbyterians, the *Regium donum*, were to cease also subject to compensation from the funds of the disestablished church.

In the debates in the preceding session of Parliament

it had been made clear that the Anglican Church in Ireland could not possibly lay claim to being a "National Church." Only about one in ten of the population belonged to the church. In Munster and Connaught only one in twenty; and in the most Protestant districts only one in five. In many parishes there were no Protestants at all, and in hundreds of them no Protestant church, and yet tithes were being collected in those parishes for the maintenance of this state church. "I myself pay tithes in 8 parishes," said Mr. G. Moore in Parliament in 1849; "in the whole of these there is not one resident clergyman . . . and I do not believe that divine service according to the Protestant ritual has been celebrated in any of them since the Reformation."¹ The non-resident clergymen were almost as numerous as the resident, and the average salary of the former class was considerably over eleven times the average salary of the latter class. An investigation a few years earlier had shown that over six and a half million of Catholics were being taxed to maintain a church that served about three quarters of a million Protestants. In 1868 the Church enjoyed a revenue from tithes and lands amounting to 600,000 pounds. The forced collection of tithes from tenants before 1838 when the tithes were converted into a rent charge paid through the landlord was the cause of perpetual strife. In the fights of the Irish peasantry with the magistrates, soldiers, and police attempting to compel the payment of the parson's dues loss of life was of frequent occurrence. Sydney Smith thought that to this cause "in all probability a million of lives may have been sacrificed in Ireland."² The very existence of that Church reminded the Irish of their political subjugation; it was a sign that they were a conquered people.

England certainly could not hope to gain their good will before this "badge of conquest" was removed. The truth but once faced the Government's obligation was plain to Gladstone. His bill had no great difficulty in passing the lower House but in the upper House the bill was fiercely attacked. In the opinion of some of the Lords it was a measure "whose political folly was only equalled by its moral turpitude," "a great national sin, a robbery and offence to Almighty God." Referring to the necessity of every man having to render an account of his deeds at the day of judgment, one bishop exclaimed, "I cannot, I dare not, I must not, I will not, vote for this Bill." One of the Peers would have the Queen, who was not in love with the bill, believe that the Coronation Oath forbade her ever giving assent to such a measure. Before the bill got through the Upper House not a few radical amendments and changes had been made, only to be thrown out for the most part, however, by the Commons when the altered bill was returned to the House. Gladstone, conscious of the support of the nation, was averse to yielding to the Lords to whom he referred as "men who must have been living in a balloon" so ignorant were they of what the country had demanded. For some days there was a hopeless dead-lock between the two houses, but eventually conference effected concessions and compromise; and the bill, modified, but in chief principles the same as when first introduced, became law, receiving the royal assent July 26, 1869. The resistance of the Lords gained for the new voluntary Irish Church additional property amounting to 850,000 pounds.

Gladstone next undertook to solve the knotty Irish land problem. Between the tenant and landlord classes

of Ireland there existed a deep-seated, long-lived, intense animosity, a burning hatred that for generations had expressed itself now and then in the meanest acts and basest crimes. On the one hand, for greed of gain, numerous unjust evictions; sometimes a merciless wholesale clearing of estates of helpless tenantry that meant disease and death to hundreds; and on the other hand destruction of property, killing of live stock, arson and murder. The Irish people could not forget that the landowners as a class held land titles which had first been gained through military conquest and sheer confiscation. In the mind of the tenant the landlord was but a usurper; more commonly than not he was an absentee. The law of tenancy was peculiar. Over the greater part of Ireland the prevalent though not universal rule was that all the improvements of an holding, such as ditching, fertilization of the soil, and building of dwelling houses, barns and fences were made, not as in England by the owner of the land or by the owner and occupier of the land jointly, but by the tenant alone, the landlord letting not a farm, but simply bare unimproved land. The cost of maintenance and repairs too whenever incurred fell altogether upon the tenant. And yet at the end of the tenancy or in case of eviction, conditions the tenant could not control, the landlord got possession of everything the tenant had put on the place. Now while this was lawful, it certainly was not right.

The law was founded on the theory of freedom of contract, and took for granted what was not true—that the Irish tenant was free to rent or not rent land as he chose. In the eye of the law of property and according to the economic doctrine of free competition, the landlord owned his land and the tenant his labor to do what

he pleased with it and to get what price he could for its use. But as a matter of fact, the Irish tenant could not help himself. The landowners were few and independent; the tenants multitudinous in number and poverty-stricken. The latter class owning no land and having no opportunity in this industrially undeveloped country to make even their subsistence except by tilling the soil were absolutely in the power of the former class. While there were numerous exceptions, the whole country being considered, because in large tracts of Ireland estates were rented on a fair system; still as a rule the occupiers and workers of the land were mere tenants-at-will, not holding leases of several years' length, but brief tenures that could be terminated at a few months' notice. And evictions were numerous and for every possible cause. After the passage of the poor law of 1847 that gave the peasant a claim to relief and furnished the owner with an excuse for getting rid of him, there were in three years 160,000 persons evicted.³ In one year in a single union, 15,000 persons were ejected." "In September, 1847, 6000 notices of ejectment were served in a single union." The introduction of a new system of cultivating the land, the substitution of pasturage for tillage, the use of machinery, the way men voted at elections, religious differences, racial animosities, personal differences, spite, revenge, greed, the tenant's improvements have all caused evictions. As early as 1845 a commission appointed by Peel to investigate the conditions on which land in Ireland was held had reported that "Improvements in Ireland were made by the tenants; that the landlords had appropriated them by raising the rent; and that this constituted a grievance which resulted in crime."⁴

At this time and again in 1853 a bill was introduced into Parliament with the purpose of correcting these evils but both were thrown out by the House of Lords. And in 1858 a motion introduced in Parliament for compensating the evicted tenant for his interest in the land was opposed as being merely a "bill for transferring the property of one set of persons to another of a different class." Up to 1870 no remedial measure had been passed. Gladstone's study of the problem led him to believe that its solution was to be found in Irish custom rather than in English law. In the only part of Ireland that was at all thrifty and prosperous there obtained, he noted, the custom of leaving in undisputed possession a tenant so long as he paid his rent, and also of compensating him for permanent improvements when surrendering his holding, whether he yielded it of his own free will or under compulsion. It was not the law, no written contracts or agreements were used, but it was the habit to compensate occupiers both for "disturbance" and "improvements." The outgoing tenant had the right to sell to the in-coming tenant his "occupancy" and thus received payment for his improvements. As much as six years would be thus paid at times. The custom was not in keeping with English law, for it recognized dual-ownership in land. It denied to the landlord an individual title to his land and recognized the tenant's right in the property. But as it was a custom that was fair and one that the Irish people believed in, Gladstone determined to give it the force of law.

The Irish tenants wanted three things—the famous "Three F's"—(1) "Fixity of tenure"; that is to say, undisturbed occupancy so long as rent was paid. (2) "Freedom of Sale"; that is, the tenant's liberty of selling

his interest, good-will and improvements. (3) "Fair rents"; that is, rent determined not by independent landlords and dependent tenants, but by an impartial agent or tribunal. Underlying the discontent and criminal conduct of many, no doubt, were also the hope and aim of finding some way into the full independent ownership of their holdings. Mr. Bright, President of the Board of Trade in Gladstone's cabinet, was of the opinion that only peasant proprietorship in land would allay disquiet in Ireland and urged that the state should assist the tenant in purchasing his plot of ground from the landlord.

In consideration of these desires Gladstone in 1875 introduced in the House and succeeded in having enacted into law without radical amendment his first Irish Land Bill. In principle it acknowledged for the first time that "the Irish farmer had an estate in his holdings,"⁵ for the "Ulster custom of tenant right, and similar customs in other parts of Ireland, received the sanction of law." It provided that a tenant evicted for any other reason than non-payment of rent should receive compensation both for disturbance of occupancy and for the value of unexhausted improvements; that a scale of compensation for disturbance, "which varied from two to seven years' rent, according to the value of the holding" was to be fixed applicable to those districts in which custom did not already fix what was regarded as equitable; that unless the contrary were proven by the landlord, improvements would be regarded in law as made by the tenant; that nothing should be considered as an improvement to be compensated for unless it added to the rental value of the holding; that no tenant paying less annual rent than 50 pounds could by contract exclude himself from the benefits of the law;⁶ and that a landlord could

only get free of the claims of the statute by granting a lease for 31 years. The occupier of the land thus became a "joint proprietor with the landlord." The bill had also purchase clauses by which provision was made for state loans to tenants to be repaid in small installments over a long tenure of years, through which aid they might buy their holdings from the landlords.

The measure did not bring peace in Ireland. On the contrary, so many agrarian outrages were occurring in 1870 and 1871 that Parliament had to pass special acts for preserving the peace, which laws conferred enlarged powers on the police, magistrates, and lord-lieutenants, in respect to the arrest, trial and imprisonment of all suspected persons. Evictions still continued, for since the law allowed ejectment in case of non-payment of rent, the landlord could still lawfully get rid of an undersirable tenant by simply advancing the rent beyond his power to pay. Nor were the purchase clauses effective, the landlords not caring to sell to their tenants. "Only seven sales were made up to 1877."⁷ But none the less, the act led in the right direction. Some of the principles revised and amended appeared in several later Acts, *e.g.*, Gladstone's Land Acts of 1881 and 1886 and in Salisbury's Act of 1891. Through the later legislation Gladstone established land courts to determine what was a fair rent; secured the tenant in undisturbed possession so long as this "judicial" rent was paid, and provided that the government might advance to the tenant who would buy his holdings two-thirds of the purchase price, and give him forty-nine years to pay the state back through annual payments equivalent to three-fourths of the judicial rent. The Salisbury Act of 1891 went further still and provided that the state might advance the whole

of the purchase price, to be repaid in small installments as before covering a period of forty-nine years. Under these acts and a later one (1903) thousands of tenants have undertaken to buy plots of land. In the five years after 1891 there were some 35,000 purchasers; "from 1903 to 1908 about 160,000."⁸

One of the most important measures of this ministry was the Educational Act of 1870, in chief part the work of Mr. Forster, vice president of the privy council. It affirmed two principles: (1) that the State was under obligation to provide, or to see that there were provided by other agencies, the means for giving at least an elementary education to all its children, and (2) that it had the power, when it chose to use it, to compel parents to send their children to school. The State was to be covered with good schools and the children were to be gotten into them. The nation had been giving some assistance to special schools for forty years. In 1870 it was making grants amounting in all to about 500,000 pounds. This state assistance went to the so-called "voluntary" or denominational schools, which were supported mainly by gifts and tuition fees, and which were for the most part under the control of the Church of England. Among those receiving state grants, however, were some Wesleyan and some Catholic schools. The schools that got public aid were inspected by an official of the Educational Department, and were, as a rule, efficient in their work, as was true too with a few maintained only by fees and private gifts. A great many of the schools of the country, however, were not worthy of the name, being kept by persons "who spelled badly, who could scarcely write, and who could not cipher at all."⁹ In some the "only educational apparatus that

could be seen was a Bible and a stick." And not only was it true that England did not have anything like enough good schools, but the children were not attending the schools the nation had. In many of the large towns not more than one-third of the children of school age were receiving instruction. In 1869 out of the 4,300,000 children of school ¹⁰ age in the kingdom, 1,300,000 went to schools that were inspected and efficient; 1,000,000 to those that were uninspected and inefficient; and 2,000,000 to no school at all. The general illiteracy of the people was recognized as a real menace to the state, now that the suffrage had been extended.

While Mr. Forster had opponents who did not favor the compulsory feature in his plan, and a few who did not believe in gratuitous education, he met his chief obstacle in trying to satisfy the demands of various parties as to what religious instruction was to be given in the state-supported schools. There were some who wanted religion taught but did not believe that it counted for much unless it included instruction in dogma and denominational doctrine; there were some who would have instruction in the Bible, but would exclude the catechisms; and some who wanted the education to be purely secular. The demand of the powerful Birmingham Education League,¹¹ which was supported by many militant Dissenters, was that "education should be free, compulsory and secular." "Denominationalism in education" drew its chief support from the Church of England party. Earnest and long continued were the debates on the religious question. The bill was introduced February 17, but it was July 22 when in amended form it passed its third reading in the House of Commons, and August 9th, when having passed all its stages, it received the royal assent.

The measure as enacted was a compromise. It provided that the country should be divided into districts, and in these districts school boards should be established elected by the rate-payers, and having the powers to aid or build schools and to levy local taxes or rates, for school purposes. In districts where there were sufficient schools already no others were to be built, the denominational or voluntary schools when submitting to state inspection being aided as before only with more liberality, their grants from the state being almost doubled. These denominational schools were denied any assistance from the local rates; but they were recognized as a part of and incorporated into the State educational system. Their support was drawn from voluntary contributions, tuition fees, and state grants. In districts where more schools were needed than voluntary support would supply, board-schools were built to be supported by state or parliamentary grants, by tuition fees and by local taxation. These were not free schools, for parents had to pay in part for their children's education. In districts and sections of districts where the parents were too poor to pay tuition fees, free board schools were to be established. As to school attendance "permissive compulsion" was entrusted to the school boards; that is to say, there was local option in the matter, the board of each district having the power to form by-laws compelling attendance or not as it saw fit. The adoption of "conscience clauses" and time tables met the religious difficulty. The denominational schools were allowed to continue to teach their religious tenets; but this religious instruction should take place at a particular hour, say either at the opening or closing of school day and parents who did not want their children to receive this instruction were given the right of

excusing their children from the services. In the board schools "no catechism or other distinctive formulary should be taught," but the Bible could be read and explained, though this must be done too at a particular hour and parents were permitted if they chose so to do, to withdraw their children at that time. The Act was a great step in advance. The general effect of this and of later Acts (1880, 1891 and 1902) of which it was the basis has been practically an entire removal of illiteracy in the nation. While in 1843 about one-third of the men and one-half of the women were illiterate, in 1903 only one-thirty-third of the women, and one-fifteenth of the men were illiterate. A child of 14 that cannot read, write and cipher is scarcely to be found. In 1880 the attendance of children of school age under 13 was made universally compulsory; and in 1891 public elementary education was made free.

A radical revision of the Act of 1870 was made in 1902.¹² By the 1870 law the amount of the parliamentary grants given to a school, whether a denominational or a board school, was proportioned to the amount raised in other ways. If the board school raised more by local taxes they received larger state grants; and if the denominational schools, which were not allowed aid from the local rates, could raise more by voluntary subscription, they received larger state grants. At the first and for some years this arrangement worked to the advantage of the denominational schools, most of which were Church of England institutions well supported by friends, whose gifts made it possible to secure larger proportions of the state grants than board schools could get by increase of local taxes. But in the long run the tables were turned, for in time more could be raised by

the increase in local rates than by voluntary gifts, and as a consequence the board schools got more of the state grants than the denominational schools. The Churchmen, numerous and powerful in their political life of the nation, considered it unfair that their schools should be refused aid from local taxation, and by continued, vigorous agitation, they gained for themselves in 1897 an additional subsidy, and in 1902 a considerable advantage in the law. By the act of 1902 the school boards were abolished and their powers conferred on the county and town councils, the regular local government organizations. The denominational as well as the board schools were to be supported by the local taxes, as well as by the state grants. The control and direction of the schools were placed by the local government councils, in the hands of committees; for the board schools, a committee, composed of members of the county or borough council and for the denominational school, a committee of six, two of whom were representatives of the county or borough council, and four of whom were representatives of the denomination. Since this arrangement for the denominational school gave the control of money raised from the public by local rates for school purposes to a committee, two-thirds of whose members were usually churchmen of a particular denomination, and in the great majority of cases represented the Church of England, there arose at once and there has remained intense hostility to the measure from the secularists and Non-Conformists of the nation.

In 1871 Oxford and Cambridge Universities were emancipated from the cramping influence of sectarianism by the passage of a bill relieving their members of all religious tests. Gladstone had hitherto been opposed

to repealing the law that allowed only churchmen the right of sitting in convocation or holding a college fellowship; but feeling the growing pressure of the non-conformists after the enactment of the Educational Act, noting the widening acceptance among the people of the "principle that education should be national and unsectarian," and seeing that his party wanted the religious restrictions at the Universities removed, he changed his position in 1871 and himself supported as a government measure the bill of that year. The law enacted provided that degrees and lay university or college offices should be open to all students alike, subscription to no religious formulary of faith being demanded. With the exception of the requirement that the Theological Faculty must be all members of the state established Church, it removed all religious tests for scholars, fellows, tutors and professors. Clerical fellowships were still retained; some of the Heads of Houses were still required to be clergymen; and the Church of England was formally recognized as the official religion of the Universities and Colleges.

Another beneficial reform of Gladstone's first ministry was the reorganization of the army effected in 1871 and 1872, the work in the main of Mr. Cardwell, the War Secretary. The Franco-Prussian War impressed the Secretary with the necessity of England's being better prepared for emergencies. The weaknesses in the military system were (1) want of reserves, there not being enough soldiers to provide a home army of defence and also an army for service abroad in distant frontiers of the Empire where small wars were of frequent occurrence, (2) divided command, the national force or militia and volunteers being not under the jurisdiction of

the Secretary of War and Commander-in-Chief, but under the command of the Lord Lieutenants of the counties, (3) the legalized purchase of promotion in rank, commissions in the army being bought and sold at regulation prices to the advancement of the rich and to the detriment of the service. This purchase system through which officers bought advance in rank by paying so much to seniors who would retire or get a promotion, had been established by royal warrant generations before and was often defended on the ground of maintaining in the army "the high social standing of the officers and the due influence of wealth." But such a defense was an excuse rather than a reason; and since the system was against merit, leaving the best soldiers if poor in the lowest positions to the inefficiency of the army, the Secretary prepared to abolish it. He calculated that the nation would have to pay out about 7,000,000 pounds in compensation to officers for their vested interests. Since the officers had bought their commissions and could sell them at certain values, the offices being regarded as so much private property, the government with liberality decided fully to reimburse the officers for their interests, though the nation was thus buying from them a control of its own army officers. When Mr. Cardwell's measure, having received the approval of the House of Commons after considerable opposition from the friends of army officers, was about blocked in the House of Lords, the Prime Minister, supported by his Cabinet, advised the Queen to abolish the purchase system by issuing a new royal warrant which would displace the old one that established and regulated the practice. The Queen saw the wisdom of the step and issued the warrant: and since the Lords desired the army officers to get their full com-

pensation which would not happen unless the bill became law, they now promptly but reluctantly passed the measure also. Mr. Cardwell abolished also dual control in the army, transferring to the Crown the military authority of the Lord Lieutenants of counties, and placing the local militia, volunteers, yeomanry with the regular forces under the single control of the Commander-in-Chief and War Office. In his organization of a reserve force, and introduction of shorter service for recruits appears the foundation of the modern English army. The recruits were to enlist not for twenty years as before, but for twelve only,—seven in the standing force with the colors, and five with the reserve. The regular army would always be composed then of younger men; it would serve as a military training school; and the reserve would be an experienced force of some 40,000 or more at hand to swell the army's strength when called on in case of emergency. The country was divided into districts,¹³ each of which was to have its battalion of the line, two militia regiments, and local volunteers under the same officer, the Lieutenant Colonel. With the intention of having half the army always at home he established the system of linked battalions. He divided each regiment of the line into two battalions, one to be kept at home, while the other was to be kept abroad, but both men and officers were to be interchangeable. Valuable improvements were also made in the commissariat department, in transport provisions, and in regulations concerning qualifications for obtaining commissions.

Other fruits of the reform activity of this ministry were (1) the opening of the departments of the civil service to public competition; (2) the repeal of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act of 1851 that forbade bishops of the

Roman Catholic Church assuming territorial titles in England; (3) the Trades-Union Act, which legalized unions and defined their rights and limitations; (4) the Ballot Act, which introduced secret voting, and thus lessened intimidation and bribery; (5) the Judicature Act, which brought the several superior Courts, such as Court of Common Law and of Equity, Court of Admiralty, Court of Bankruptcy, and Probate and Divorce Court, together to form one Supreme Court of Judicature, itself to be divided into a High Court of Justice and a Court of Appeal, a centralization that rendered judicial actions and procedure cheaper, simpler and more equitable; (6) the Licensing Bill, which regulated the hours for the closing of public-houses, or gin shops, made provisions against the sale of adulterated products and organized town and country licensing agencies; (7) the establishment of four holidays in the year, called bank-holidays, Easter Monday, Whit Monday, the day after Christmas called Boxing Day, and the First Monday in August; (8) a Miners' Regulation Act, which gave protection to men underground by requiring the certified competency of managers; (9) the introduction of half-penny post cards and of cheaper postal rates for newspapers; (10) retrenchment in army and navy expenditures; (11) the creation of a permanent Railway Commission, composed of three members nominated by the Crown to "decide legal disputes between the railway companies and private traders."

Many ministerial bills were lost during the latter part of the ministry, a notable one among them being the Irish University Bill of 1873. Gladstone proposed to establish a great University which should incorporate in one body several educational institutions, among them

the Protestant establishment Trinity College, the Roman Catholic University, and the unsectarian colleges at Belfast and Cork. The University was to be a teaching as well as an examining body, an undenominational institution where Protestant and Catholic were to labor together in harmony. There were to be no religious tests whatever for professors or students in the University and all honors and emoluments were to be thrown open to competitors of every creed. The University was to be under the control of a body of twenty-eight members appointed at first by Parliament but later through a system that might eventually have led to Catholic control. There was to be in the University neither a chair of theology nor of moral philosophy, nor of modern history. These subjects were to be taught only in the incorporated colleges and a professor or instructor was liable to be suspended or deposed if in speech or in writing he willfully offended the religious convictions of his pupils or other members of the University. These foolish "gagging clauses" were displeasing to many of the Liberals as well as Conservatives; the Roman Catholics were not enthusiastic over "undenominational education"; and the Irish Presbyterians were opposed to the whole project. The bill was rejected, though by a close vote, 287 to 284. Gladstone chose to regard this bill as a vital measure and therefore tendered his resignation to the Queen. But Disraeli, the Conservative leader, was unwilling to try to lead in a House of Commons having so great a majority of Liberals. Not wishing to become prime minister on the condition of at once dissolving Parliament for a new general election, and also rightly divining that the country was tired of the Liberal government and that a little longer tenure would but bring it into further

discredit, he unconditionally refused to take office just then and Gladstone was compelled to continue at his post.

The government was fast waning in popularity. Its handling of foreign affairs had been much criticized. While the British public were pleased with the government's observing a strict neutrality in regard to the Franco-Prussian War, they did not like at all the fact that at the close the Russian government was able coolly to defy England by disavowing the Black Sea clauses of the treaty of Paris, made 1856 at the close of the Crimean War. By this treaty, whose guarantors were England and France, Russia was forbidden to have war vessels in the Euxine; but now that France was conquered and overrun by the Germans, and the Emperor Napoleon III overthrown, Russia declared her intention to disregard the engagement and build a war-fleet in these waters. The affront was humiliating to English pride, but as England stood alone and could ill afford to make it a reason for going to war nothing could be done about it. Nor was the nation pleased with the results of the government's arbitration experiences. The decisions of the arbitrating boards in two disputes with America were both unfavorable to England. One dispute was about the possession of San Juan Island, near the coast of British Columbia. The United States got the island. The other controversy was concerning the claims made by the United States for compensation for damage done Federal interests and trade by confederate privateers during the Civil War. The arbitrators in 1872 ordered England to pay the United States more than 3,000,000 pounds. In having these controversies judicially settled Gladstone won eventually a deserved and enduring title to

world fame, but at the time the Prime Minister lost popularity in England. British public opinion considered the awards unfair and liked the government less on account of them. The public welcomed too a rest from the ceaseless activity of the government in domestic legislation. While Disraeli's arraignment of the Liberal Ministry, when the Irish University was under discussion in 1873, was bitter, unfair and exaggerated, it did reflect the truth that Gladstone's reforming energy had disquieted business and disturbed the conservative feeling of Englishmen. "You have had four years of it," he said, "you have despoiled churches, you have threatened every corporation and endowment in the country, you have examined into everybody's affairs, you have criticised every profession, and vexed every trade, no one is certain of his property, no one knows what duties he may have to perform tomorrow." ¹⁴

Conscious that his ministry was discredited, Gladstone decided to seek support in a new appeal to the people, and surprised everybody by suddenly announcing in January, 1874, a dissolution of Parliament. He promised the people that if returned to power he would abolish the income tax, and reorganize more equitably local taxation. His appeal did not win the electorate. The masses were little moved by a pledge to lower an income tax, and several influential classes of voters fought him. Those Churchmen who disavored his disestablishment of the Irish Church, those Dissenters who did not like the advantage given the Anglican Church in the Education Act, the military group opposed to his army reform, the self-assertive imperialists who wanted England to count for more in foreign affairs, the steady-going business men and conservative property holders whose profits and interests

had been disturbed by recent legislation, and the owners of the saloons and gin-shops whose trade had been interfered with, all threw their votes against the Liberals. The Conservatives won a splendid victory, gaining a majority of 50 in the House of Commons. According to Gladstone, the defeat was due to the opposition of the saloon-keepers and brewers, "to a torrent of gin and beer"; according to Disraeli "to incessant and harassing legislation," too much "meddling interference."¹⁵

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CHAPTER X

DISRAELI'S SECOND MINISTRY 1874-1880

The Conservatives were in power for six years (1874-1880). Disraeli announced as the principles of the party's policy: (1) the maintenance of our institutions, (2) the preservation of the empire, and (3) the improvement of the condition of the people. In keeping with the third principle, the ministry early passed a few moderate measures of benefit to farmers and artisans. They enacted the Laborers' Dwelling Bill, which aimed to provide better houses for the workmen of cities; a Labor Law Amendment, which declared that "a combination in trades-disputes to do an act not in itself punishable as a crime" should no longer be liable to punishment as a "conspiracy"¹ and which lessened the number of breaches of contract on the part of a workman that could be punished criminally; a Public Health Act, which was a sort of codification of numerous health measures; a land bill that simplified the processes of land exchanges and of registration of titles; the Friendly Societies Bill that provided for supervision of benefit associations in order to secure better the funds entrusted to them by the thrifty poor; and an Agricultural Holdings Bill, by which farmers might at the end of a tenancy get some return for capital expended on improvements that were not yet exhausted. Radical reforms were tabooed by this ministry, their motto "rest in domestic legislation" being

pretty generally observed. But in foreign affairs the government was decidedly active.

In 1875 the Prime Minister suddenly surprised England with the wonderful news that the government had purchased from the Khedive of Egypt 177,000 shares—nearly half control—of the Suez Canal for the sum of 4,000,000 pounds. The shares were about to be taken by a body of Frenchmen, when Disraeli intervened. His offer by telegraph of millions of ready cash was gladly accepted by the financially distressed Khedive. For England, the leading naval and maritime power of the world and the governor of India, the purchase was a master-stroke of imperial policy. The loud praises the Premier got from the press and people were deserved.

A prominent feature of Disraeli's policy was the magnification of England's position in Asia. He favored the plan of having the Prince of Wales make a tour through India. A considerable sum of money having been granted for the purpose, the visit was paid in the fall of 1875. The royal progress throughout the country was conducted on a grand scale. Costly, pompous, magnificent, it aimed at impressing the princes and inhabitants of the provinces with the strength and prestige of Great Britain, and also in making clear to European powers that England highly valued this Asiatic continent. It was during the Prince's visit when gratifying accounts of his reception filled the public mind, that Disraeli, in 1876, introduced his Royal Titles Bill, which would add to the Queen's title the high-sounding phrase "Empress of India." There were many who objected to the proposal; some ridiculing it as cheap, barbaric trumpery; others declaring that the particular word "Empress" was extremely distasteful to Englishmen. But Disraeli argued

that precedent for such a change was set in the act of Union with Ireland; that in his judgment there was necessity for some external mark of the position of the British ruler as supreme over many sovereign princes of India; that this necessity had existed ever since the government of India was transferred from the East India Company to the Crown in 1858; that the new title would show the unanimous determination of the people of England to retain connection with the Indian Empire; that the Queen was empress in India in fact and should be so in name; and that the Queen herself favored the change in title. The bill was carried, and on New Year's Day, 1877, at Delhi, Calcutta, Madras and Bombay the new dignity was formally and grandly proclaimed.

The Royal Titles Bill won for the Prime Minister the warm friendship of his Sovereign. At the close of his first ministry Victoria had offered to raise Disraeli to the peerage. This honor he then declined for himself, but accepted for his wife on whom was conferred the title of "Viscountess Beaconsfield." In August, 1878, however he accepted the honor and was created "Earl of Beaconsfield," passing then from the House of Commons, in which he had been a prominent figure for about 40 years, into the House of Lords, remaining still however at the head of the government.

His last speech in the Commons sounded the imperialistic note clear and strong. Some fearful revelations had just been made of the brutal methods of warfare employed by the Turks against the Bulgarian Christians who were revolting against Ottoman misrule. Volunteer brigands and Circassian irregulars of barbarous nature had been turned loose to wreak their savage will on defenseless villages. Twelve thousand persons had

been killed in one district; near a hundred Christian girls had been seized and carried off by the vicious Turks; rapes, wholesale massacres, and every heinous crime appeared in the "Bulgarian Atrocities." The Conservative government was fiercely criticized by the Liberals, because the ministry was so careful to maintain a friendly attitude toward Turkey, and had at first dismissed as idle rumors and exaggerations the Bulgarian reports. "But," answered Disraeli, "I am sure that as long as England is ruled by English parties who understand the principles on which our Empire is founded, our influence in that part of the world can never be looked upon with indifference." . . . "Those who suppose that England would ever uphold or at this moment particularly is upholding Turkey from blind superstition, and from a want of sympathy with the highest aspirations of humanity, are deceived. What our duty is at this critical moment is to maintain the Empire of England. Nor will we ever agree to any step, though it may obtain for a moment comparative quiet and a false prosperity, that hazards the existence of that Empire." ²

D'Israeli believed that the safety of the Empire was threatened in the East by Russia's advance on Turkey. The latter country was bankrupt. It had experienced several palace revolutions, two sultans being deposed one after another, one of them murdered; and it had been forced to fight insurrections in several of its provinces, in Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro and Servia. The Russians were ready to help the Greek Christians, their brethren, in winning deliverance from the heavy hand of the infidel Turk. Emissaries from Russia had taken part in the Bosnian revolt and many thousands of Russian volunteers under the command of a Russian

general had come to the aid of the Servians. This interference in Turkish affairs was not to the liking of England. The treaty of Paris made in 1856 at the end of the Crimean War was pointed to wherein the Powers had promised not to "intervene in the internal affairs of Turkey." But Russia would have it remembered that this treaty had been made in view of the Sultan's solemn vow to "improve the lot of his Christian subjects" and that the promise had not been in the least observed. Russia felt that, treaty or no treaty, the cause of humanity demanded restraining the barbarous tyranny of the Turk. After several vain attempts by the diplomats through correspondence and exchange of notes to bring the concerted action of European powers to bear in effecting reforms in Turkey Russia announced her intention of undertaking the work single-handed, and on April 24, 1877, declared war on Turkey. The English ministry was disposed to interpret the move as inspired more by a desire for Constantinople than by a love of Christianity. Russia's army took Kars, passed through Roumania, crossed the Danube, was checked at Plevna for a few months, then burst over the Balkan mountains in the depth of winter, swept across the plains of Rumania, captured Adrianople January 20, pressed on to the very seaboard, and forced peace terms March 3, 1878, with their utterly discomfited foes at San Stefano within a few leagues of the capital itself. The peace treaty provided for:

- (1) A war indemnity to Russia of 12,000,000 pounds.
- (2) Accession to Russia of certain places in Asia, Kars, Batoum, Ardahan, Bayazid.
- (3) The independent status as states of Servia, Montenegro and Roumania.

- (4) The enlargement of Bulgaria, which was to be an autonomous state, though tributary to the Sultan, and which was to reach right down to the Aegean Sea, thus including the better part of European Turkey between Greece and Servia. "Fifty thousand troops would occupy it by way of precaution for two years." ³

These Russian advances were very unwelcome to England. The predominance of the Muscovite in Turkey was deemed a threat to her control in the Mediterranean, and to her interests in Egypt and in India. The enlargement of Bulgaria was especially objected to since it was believed that Russia intended finding through the new state at some future day an outlet to the Aegean Sea. England's Prime Minister made up his mind to curb Russia even if the effort necessitated war. In January, 1878, the government asked for a supplementary grant of 6,000,000 pounds for army and navy purposes, which was after some debate voted. In the same month the British fleet was ordered to the Dardanelles, and three weeks later to Constantinople. The Mediterranean fleet was strengthened by additional ships and naval and military preparations were pressed ahead in dock-yard, arsenal and camp. The ministry took the ground that no one nation could settle the Eastern Question without the consent of the other European Powers and that Russia would have to submit the San Stefano Treaty to the consideration of a conference of all the Powers. Austria was quite eager for such a conference, hoping some gain for herself, nor was Germany averse to the plan. For awhile Russia was disposed to ignore the demand, but when England called out the reserves and ordered 7,000 native troops from India to Malta, she decided to yield.

The conference met at Berlin, June 13, 1878, under the presidency of Prince Bismarck. Lord Beaconsfield went in person as one of the representatives from England. The revised treaty provided: ⁴

- (1) That the Bulgarian state should be cut up, two parts of it, Macedonia and Eastern Rumelia, being returned or left to Turkey. Macedonia was to be under the direct rule of Turkey; Eastern Rumelia was to manage its own affairs but under a governor appointed by the Sultan; and Bulgaria was to be self-governed and ruled by an elected prince, approved by the Sultan and the Powers, and was to have its own army and fortresses.
- (2) Bosnia and Herzegovina were placed under Austrian control, a reward promised by Russia for Austrian neutrality during the war.
- (3) Greece was to have Thessaly, though the Sultan managed to postpone the gift for about three years.
- (4) Roumania, Servia, Montenegro were recognized as independent states, entirely free from Turkey.
- (5) Russia was allowed to keep Ardahan, Kars, Batoum, and Armenia but had to restore to Turkey Bayazid.
- (6) Complete religious freedom was guaranteed all Christian subjects by the Ottoman government. During the conference there was announced publicly a secret agreement only a few days old between England and Turkey, which might be considered a part of the general arrangements made.
- (7) Turkey promised to introduce the long promised reforms in government, and also allowed to England the occupation of the Island of Cyprus, while England in turn undertook for the future, if need be by force of arms, to guarantee the integrity of the Asiatic dominions of the Ottoman empire.

This radical revision of the San Stefano Treaty was humiliation for Russia, glory for Britain. The Prime

Minister stood forth in the eyes of the world a conqueror, and was received with enthusiastic laudation on returning to England, bringing as he termed it "peace with honor." The event marked the high-water mark of Beaconsfield's popularity and influence. In the last years of his ministry his government suffered in public esteem on account of disasters experienced in efforts for frontier advances in Afghanistan and South Africa. In Zululand six companies of the 24th regiment were surrounded by thousands of savage warriors and every man of them but six cut down. Disraeli's imperialism and colonial ambition seemed dangerous and vulgar to some. In January 25, 1878, Lord Carnarvon, the Colonial Secretary, resigned from the Cabinet for just this reason.

But it was the government's recognized inability to cope with the Irish malcontents that weakened it more than anything else. Under the leadership of Charles Stewart Parnell the Irish members of Parliament had organized with the purpose of obstructing as far as they could all business whatsoever until consideration was given their demand for Home Rule. This party was supported by friends in America and was backed by a well-constituted land-league among the Irish people. The Irish faction in the House of Commons, by making dilatory motions, delivering endless speeches, and repeatedly calling for divisions blocked the ministry's bills, and succeeded thus in giving the nation a depreciated sense of the government's strength. Then the country was suffering from agricultural depression; harvests were poor; employment was scarce; prices were low; and in Ireland there was famine. Conscious of the growth of adverse opinion toward his government, Lord Beaconsfield in March, 1880, dissolved his Parliament, which would soon

end its legal term of seven years anyway. He hoped to gain in the election a new lease of power by presenting to the nation the Irish demand for Home Rule as an effort to break up the Empire and by intimating that his political opponents, the Liberals, were not out of sympathy with this sort of a programme. In his address to the electors, he "warned the country that a danger in its ultimate results scarcely less disastrous than pestilence and famine, distracted Ireland; a portion of its population was endeavoring to sever the constitutional tie that united it to Great Britain. . . . It is to be hoped that all men of light and leading will resist this destructive doctrine . . . and yet there are some who challenge the expediency of the imperial character of this realm!"⁵ Gladstone replied to these "dark allusions" that "those who endangered the union with Ireland were the party that maintained there an alien church, an unjust land-law, and franchises inferior to our own: and that the true supporters of the union are those who firmly uphold the supreme authority of Parliament, but exercise that authority to bind the three nations by the indissoluble tie of liberal and equal laws." Gladstone was in his seventy-first year. None the less the veteran statesman fiercely waged battle addressing day after day in his famous Midlothian Campaign vast concourses of people and stirring to its depths the thought of the nation. The Liberals swept the country; 349 of them being sent to Parliament as against 243 Conservatives, and 60 Home Rulers.

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CHAPTER XI

GLADSTONE'S SECOND MINISTRY

1880-1885

Gladstone's second administration (April, 1880-June, 1885) differed from his first in that external and military rather than domestic affairs occupied chiefly the government's attention. As to home reforms, the ministry's work, though important, may be told with brevity. Artisans received benefit from an employers' liability act which increased the responsibility of the employer in cases of accident; the tenants were pleased with a new law that gave them equal privilege with the landlord in killing game that injured their crops; an old Non-Conformist controversy was brought to a just end by the passage of a burial bill which first gave Dissenters equal right with Churchmen in the interment of their dead in the church cemetery, burials being authorized "either without religious service or with such Christian and orderly service as the person responsible might think fit"¹; a married woman's property bill was passed which gave married women a legal equality with men as regards their incomes and what they made or inherited; and beneficial acts were passed for the prevention of bribery and corrupt methods at elections; for administering the estates of bankrupts; and for giving to outgoing tenants fair compensation for improvements of a permanent character made by them on their holdings. The Third Reform Act (1884) and the Redistribution of Seats Act (1885) were important and natural complements of the

Reform Acts of 1832 and 1867. The Act of 1884 gave the ballot to the better class of agricultural laborers in the counties, increasing the electorate by two and a half million voters, and established a uniform householder and a uniform lodger franchise over the whole nation. The Redistribution Act made parliamentary representation less unequal by taking one hundred and sixty seats from the smaller boroughs and distributing these among the more populous counties and towns, and by forming a number of single member districts.

The ministry's external troubles were numerous and difficult. Rebellion occurred in the Transvaal, South Africa; civil strife and disorder appeared in Egypt; religious fanatics spread warfare in the Soudan; delicate questions of foreign policy arose in dealing with Russia; and across St. George's Channel there was again turmoil and crime. The South African difficulty was a direct outcome of the imperialistic policy of the Beaconsfield ministry. In 1877 that government had decreed that the young republic of the Dutch beyond the Vaal River, formed mainly of farmers and peasants ("Boers") should be annexed to the British empire. The step was not approved by a considerable proportion of the English people, and was bitterly opposed by practically all the Dutch. The Transvaal state had come into being in an effort of the Boers to escape English control. On three separate occasions in 1836, 1842 and in 1848, communities of the Dutch with their cattle, slaves, farm implements and other belongings had trekked out of a colony where British rule was becoming strong and was interfering with their customs and institutions (such for example as the holding of slaves), and had migrated farther into the interior, hoping to build a state of their own and to

lead a life altogether unmolested by English intruders. The Dutch had migrated from Cape Colony to Natal, then from Natal to the Orange River country, and finally from the Orange River country to the Transvaal region, only to find themselves every time overtaken by the English. The reason given in 1877 for the annexation of the republic was that the Boers engaged in frequent border wars with native tribes, and that these wars tended to incite hostile feeling and attacks from the African tribes against neighboring English colonies. Independence for the Boers was declared to mean insecurity for other British colonists. The annexation was regarded by the Dutch as a high-handed outrage, nor was their hatred of the act lessened by the equivocal and unflattering promise of being given "the fullest legislative privileges compatible with the circumstances of the country and the intelligence of the people." Seven thousand out of the eight thousand qualified electors of the republic signed a petition asking the English government for a restoration of their independence. But their appeal was of no avail with the Conservative ministry. In 1879 and again in the spring of 1880, as the administration drew to its close the Boers were given to understand that "The Transvaal territory should continue forever to be an integral part of the Queen's dominions in South Africa,"² that "the Vaal river would flow backwards through the Drakensberg sooner than the British would be withdrawn from the Transvaal."

The change of ministry in 1880 gave to the Boers new hope. They knew that the Liberal party was opposed to Beaconsfield's extreme imperial policy, and that the new Prime Minister did not sanction the method employed in acquiring the Transvaal, having referred to it during the

electoral campaign as having "been obtained by means dishonorable to the character of the country." But however much the Prime Minister may have sympathized with the Boers and appreciated the justness of their claim, he found on entering office that the facts of the situation at that time made it very unwise if not impossible to attempt then the repeal of annexation. British Commissioners and agents were sending in reports declaring that there were good signs appearing of acquiescence to the British rule on the part of some of the Dutch and that a strong but free government would insure a reign of peace and order that would soon win over to it the majority of the rest. Obligations too had been entered into with the natives that could not be ignored. Civil strife and anarchy seemed possible if the English immediately withdrew since the government by the Dutch country folk was detested by the European diggers and settlers in the newly-formed towns about the mining centers. There was a plan on foot too for building up a confederation of states in South Africa, and advances had been made by official agents that called for further support. Gladstone hated to disappoint the Dutch, but was forced by events to continue the work of his predecessor in office. He told the Boers that the Queen's sovereignty over the Transvaal would be maintained but that the ministry desired them to have the very fullest liberty in managing their local affairs; and that he believed such liberty could be most easily and promptly conceded to the Transvaal as a state in a South African confederation.

But to be a member of such a federation was not the desire of the Dutch, and as to promises of a larger measure of local self-government being bestowed, they were

tired of promises. After a great public assembly had proclaimed for a republic and a new government had been set up and flag raised (December, 1880) they began military attacks on British outposts. Several small garrisons were overcome and at Majuba Hill, February 27, 1881, they came near annihilating a British force of 359 seasoned soldiers. The English lost in killed, wounded and captured 288 men, the commander Colley being numbered among the dead. The Boers did not lose a man.

This disastrous defeat first fully aroused public opinion in England to the seriousness of the Transvaal resistance. Revenge became the popular cry, and reinforcements were sent to the front. But strange to say, just as all England was listening to hear of some decisive military operation on a big scale, the surprising news came that the Prime Minister was planning to withdraw the garrisons and to concede to the wishes of the Boers.

Gladstone's move was unpopular and required moral courage. To withdraw just after a defeat would be considered a confession of weakness. But peace negotiations had been set on foot by him and a policy of conciliation and friendly settlement had been deliberately adopted and begun before Colley unfortunately occupied Majuba Hill. Because a military blunder quite disastrous to the English had been made, Gladstone could not see that he should reverse his peace policy already adopted and recommend revengeful warfare. To do that would be to incur blood-guiltiness. So in spite of fierce criticism from many in Parliament, in military circles and in the nation, he carried to a conclusion his settlement. The Pretoria Convention, concluded August, 1881, recognized

the Boers' government as a quasi-independent state with specific reservations and under the suzerainty of the Queen. Three years later the Boers succeeded in having modified the Pretoria agreement. By the London Convention (1884) the old title South African Republic was restored and the word suzerainty was removed from the preamble of the agreement. Favoring the British, however, was inserted a provision which later at the opening of the great Boer War the Dutch heard a good deal about, viz. "for white men to have full liberty, to reside in any part of the republic, to trade in it, and to be liable to the same taxes only as those exacted from citizens of the republic." ³ The settlement gave entire freedom to the Boers in internal government, but reserved for England control over their foreign affairs. As to where complete sovereignty was lodged the agreement was vague and just here lay future trouble.

The Soudanese entanglement and disaster grew out of England's interests in Egypt. Since D'Israeli in 1875 bought the bankrupt Khedive's shares in the Suez Canal, there had followed a steadily increasing control by England in Egyptian affairs. The chronic state of indebtedness of the government had been accompanied by great and repeated loans, especially from England and France, and from 1879 to 1883 these two countries exercised for the protection of creditors and investors a Dual Control over the financial administration of Egypt. In the latter part of 1882 native hostility to foreign interference culminated in a rebellion of subjects against the Khedive Tewfik and his foreign advisers, led by an ambitious colonel in the Egyptian army, Arabi Pasha, whose popular slogan was "Egypt for the Egyptians." The Pasha pressed the Khedive so hard that foreign military forces

had to be brought in for his defense. France balked at military intervention, but England went in; and thus single-handed soon established for herself a permanent supremacy. Alexandria was bombarded by an English fleet. A British army was sent over under the command of Lord Wolseley gaining a victory over Arabi at Tel-el-Kebir; a cavalry force took the capital Cairo (September 14, 1882), and Arabi himself and main supporters were captured and banished. With the collapse of the rebellion the army of occupation did not withdraw, but remained for the purpose of assisting in "preserving the public tranquillity." This assistance soon came to mean actual direction of affairs, for the governors of Egypt were compelled to adopt the policies advised by the English resident counsellors.

Egypt, though unable to maintain a stable government for herself was none the less vainly undertaking to subjugate and rule the wild Soudanese territory of the Upper Nile basin, employing arbitrary, selfish and oppressive methods of misrule. The Gladstone ministry had eventually to interfere in that quarter; but it did so with decided reluctance. Gladstone declared "I look upon the possession of the Soudan as the calamity of Egypt. It has been a drain on her treasury, it has been a drain on her men. It is estimated that 100,000 Egyptians have laid down their lives in endeavoring to maintain that barren conquest."⁴ Not a jingoist, and questioning the justice and wisdom of Egypt's control in the Soudan, he was unwilling to give it military support. No imperialist, he did not desire to make war on the Soudanese to win their lands for England. The insurrections there were in his mind justified by the atrocities and oppressions of the Egyptian pashas and were con-

sidered but the restless movements of "peoples rightly struggling to be free." He accepted British responsibility for good government in Egypt, but did not admit that this political relationship carried with it the duty of undertaking to rule the Soudan. Should he intervene, it would be to get Egypt to abandon the Soudan, to recall her governor, to withdraw her garrisons, and to leave the waste country in the hands of its native tribes. In 1884 Gladstone undertook to carry out an "abandonment policy." The man sent to effect evacuation was General Charles Gordon. The man had had considerable experience and success in governing orientals, had won world-fame as a leader of the Ever-Victorious Army in suppressing the formidable Tae-Ping rebellion against the Chinese government in 1864, had been Egypt's governor-general of the Soudan in 1877, had there laid a heavy hand on the slave dealers, and was justly recognized as a friend of the weak and wronged.

Difficult and peculiar was his task. The Soudanese rebellion, started about 1881, was fired by both the political and religious spirit. In this year Mohammed Ahmed, a fanatical native of the Upper Nile country, had proclaimed himself the heaven-sent Messiah, the prophet whom the Moslems teach would appear just before the Judgment Day. He had declared his mission to be to harry out of the land the people's oppressors, the wicked and the unbelieving, and win the world to his faith and God. Self-confident, able and eloquent the prophet had soon gathered under his leadership most of the wild and excitable tribes of the Soudan, and was directing with skill their united strength in throwing off the hated yoke of Egyptian rule. The fanatical "dervishes" had succeeded in forcing into their fortresses the Egyptian troops

stationed in various parts of the country, and their steady advances had not been checked by the special military force despatched from Khartoum by the government of the Khedive. General Hicks, an Indian officer, sent out by Egypt in 1883 in command of a native army had been entrapped, and his whole host cut to pieces.

Gordon seemed a good man to tackle the Mahdi. His personal magnetism, remarkable achievements, his influence over others, his contempt for money, his abounding self-confidence and sublime faith had stirred the imagination of the English people and made him seem to some the inspired heaven-directed leader; just the right commander to be pitted against the Soudanese prophet. He was given the widest discretionary powers as to the methods to employ, but was expected to undertake not a policy of conquest and rule, but of withdrawal: nor was he to count upon the sending of a military force from England to carry out his plan. But Gordon did not, probably could not, keep on a straight course. Having gotten himself appointed Governor-General of the Soudan by the Khedive at Cairo, he began soon to move in the direction of establishing settled order in the country, hoping to reinstate the best representatives of the old rulers; but these could not be found. Arrived at Khartoum, though welcomed by its people as the great deliverer, he did not find, as some of the Arabs who had in former years served under him prophesied, "that the Mahdi's hordes will melt away like dew, and the Pretender will be left like a small man standing alone, until he is forced to flee back to his island of Abbas."⁵ On the contrary in answer to Gordon's messages of peace were sent insolent words, "calling upon Gordon to become a Mussulman, and to come and serve the Mahdi."

Already company after company sent against the prophet had been destroyed. As city and stronghold fell before the attack of "The Expected One," who claimed "he was immortal and would never die" and who was set upon killing every one not acknowledging his authority, the terrified Soudanese flocked in tribes to his standard. Gordon became convinced that there was no hope for the Soudan so long as the Mahdi had sway; so changed his program and now proclaimed his plan to "smash up" this prophet; and to that end began calling for the despatch of a British army. Strange to relate, he asked also that there should be sent him from Cairo Zobeir Pasha. This fellow, though an able fighter and capable political chief, was a prisoner who had been in large part responsible for the abominable slave traffic of the decade past and had been deported for that reason to Cairo. His son had been executed by Gordon when formerly in authority in the Soudan. He was believed to have been in sympathy with the Mahdi at the first, and was regarded as the enemy of both Egypt and England. Gordon claimed to have a "mystical feeling that after all Zobeir would be his friend" and he believed that if this powerful, much-feared master were put in authority over a sort of buffer state between Egypt and Mahdi, and given England's moral support, he would "run straight" because at Cairo Zobeir had learned of England's power. Gordon had said that unless the man were sent "there was no chance of getting the garrisons away"; but none the less, Cabinet, Parliament and people in England would not stand for Zobeir, the ex-slaver, and this request of Gordon's was refused. As to sending British troops, there was much hesitation and long debate before such responsibility would be assumed.

Gordon and a garrison of 11,000 men were shut up in Khartoum by the Mahdists in February, 1884, and though the nation clamored vigorously all through the spring and summer for an expedition to be sent for the relief of Gordon, it was not until August that the ministry, consenting to the plan, asked the House of Commons for a vote of credit. It was September before the final preparations for the expedition were made. An unwilling body of 10,000 men under the command of Lord Wolseley then started for Khartoum by the Nile route, but there were so many unknown obstacles to encounter it was January before any of the forces got within a hundred miles of Khartoum. On several occasions the British had to fight back the dervishes, but finally on January 28, 1885, a small force, numbering only 26 British and 240 Soudanese who had boarded 2 small bullet-proof steamers sent down by Gordon to meet the desert column at Gubat, came in sight of the besieged capital. Over it waved, however, no longer the Egyptian flag. Two days before, the dervishes had assaulted and taken Khartoum. Gordon had been hacked to pieces, the starving population massacred, and the city given over to pillage. And yet three whole days had been spent at Gubat in merely reconnoitering and making an exchange of troops!

When the news of the awful calamity reached England consternation and anger seized the people. They were incensed beyond measure with the government, so halting and dilatory its action had been. The incident was referred to as "the betrayal of Gordon." The Queen openly expressed her displeasure and the ministry escaped censure in the House of Commons by only 14 votes. The government hardly survived the blow.

For eleven years the Soudan was abandoned by England, all military forces having been withdrawn and the country left in control of the natives. But in 1896 its reconquest was undertaken. An Egyptian army carefully disciplined and prepared by English officers and under the command of British generals headed by Sir Herbert Kitchener, marched into the Middle Nile valley, drove the dervishes from the Dongola province, won victories at Ferker, Abu-Hamed, Atbara and Omdurman, in the latter of which battles 50,000 of the enemy were engaged, 11,000 of them killed and 16,000 wounded; reoccupied Khartoum, and having utterly annihilated the native Khalifa's power, raised over the Soudan the standard of both Egypt and England. Thus the bounds of British control were extended in Africa and the murder of Gordon had been avenged.

After the Soudanese embroilment Gladstone was almost brought into war with Russia because of the unwarranted advance of that country on Afghan territory, a buffer state between Russia and India. A Russian army had advanced into Afghan, whipped the Ameer's forces and annexed the valley of Penjdeh. To oppose the further advance Gladstone had no difficulty in getting from Parliament a vote of credit of 4,000,000 pounds for the army and 2,500,000 pounds for the navy; and later for frontier defense, 5,000,000 pounds. The Indian government began too a mobilization of troops and showed readiness to send to the front if needed 50,000 men. Conflict was avoided however by conciliatory tactics,—by discussing the possibility of arbitrating the matter, and by instituting a provisional arrangement for neutralizing the territory until a boundary commission could be appointed and could determine by investigation the

rights of ownership. The frontier boundary line between the Oxus and the Hari-Reed was marked out in 1887.

To allay trouble in Ireland Gladstone employed, but without much success, economic and disciplinary measures. In 1880 he passed a bill making a "distinction between those who would not pay rent and those who could not on account of bad harvests," and that allowed no eviction of tenants unless the landlord paid "compensation for disturbance." In 1881 he passed a land bill, that established a land court through which a fair or "judicial rent" might be fixed in case of dispute, and that acted in general favorably to the tenant, reducing some excessive rents as much as a third or a half. These laws were denounced by prominent Liberals as well as by Conservatives as "demoralizing and dishonest, as a first step to social war." They caused some resignations from the ministry. Nor did the laws please the Irish people who hoped at some time to get rid of absentee landlords altogether, and to gain nationality for their country. Charles Stewart Parnell, the shrewd, cynical, determined leader of the Home Rulers, declared the land acts shameful and urged the farmers not to make use of the land courts until certain test cases had been made. As head of a national land league, termed by Mr. Forster, the Secretary for Ireland, an "illegal and criminal organization," Parnell with his followers certainly winked at, if they did not encourage, all manner of agrarian crimes. Those who unjustly evicted tenants, those who dared to take their vacated tenancies, and those who refused to follow the league's advice or orders as to settlement of annual rents and rents in arrears, were apt to suffer punishment. Threats to kill sent through the post, the

throwing of bombs and explosives, killing of live-stock, arson, shooting into houses, boycotting, murders, formed a veritable reign of terror. Agrarian crimes had arisen from 863 in 1879 to 2589 in 1880, and evictions rose from 6239 in 1879 to 10,457 in 1880. In the fourth quarter of 1881 there were 732 outrages of which 42 were either murders or attempts at murder. And this too notwithstanding the fact that a Protection of Property Bill and an Arms Bill, giving special powers to the lord-lieutenant for deterring and punishing criminals had been passed. Exercising this extraordinary power, Forster had Parnell and a half dozen of his chief supporters arrested and imprisoned in Kilmainham jail as men "guilty of treasonable practices" "not ashamed to preach the gospel of public plunder." But this move did not destroy Parnell's influence. On the contrary, the Irish people, regarding him as illegally incarcerated, without just cause or regular trial, were ready to follow the league's "No Rent Manifesto" which the imprisoned Parnell inspired and endorsed, advising tenants to pay not a penny of rent until the government freed and treated with fairness their leaders. Outrageous agrarian crimes multiplied again all over the South and West of Ireland.

Gladstone hated to employ coercive measures, and having learned that Forster had been told by an emissary of Parnell's who had visited him in jail, that in case of Parnell's release, the Irish leader would do all in his power to stop boycotting, intimidation and outrages of every sort, the Prime Minister decided to make a new departure and try the effect of kinder methods, freeing Parnell, his confederates, and "all suspects not associated with the commission of crime." Forster, Secretary for

Ireland, disapproved of this bargaining with criminals, and resigned office. In his place Gladstone put Lord Frederick Cavendish, a devoted friend and adherent who was the husband of a niece of Mrs. Gladstone and who had worked out a financial plan for a new land purchase scheme for Ireland. But Cavendish had been in Ireland only a few days when he and his under-secretary, Mr. Burke, were foully murdered by assassins in Phoenix Park, Dublin, in broad daylight. The horrible crime was the act of a body of conspirators called the Invincibles. Gladstone was constrained against his preference to abandon his policy of conciliation and to employ drastic coercive measures. A special tribunal of three judges was created for trying cases of treason, murder and serious crime, which sat without juries; the right of public assembly was restricted, certain newspapers were suppressed, extra police furnished, arbitrary arrests allowed, and the police given the right to search houses day or night for the discovery of apparatus of crime. A vigorous enforcement of this Crimes Act by Mr. Trevelyan, the new Secretary for Ireland, and by Lord Spencer, the new Viceroy, brought about for a short time a more quiet state of affairs. They unearthed several dastardly attempts to use explosives to frighten the government, and arrested and hanged some of the Dublin murderers and ring-leaders in crime. But while sedition and crime were suppressed for a while, it became evident that no enforcement act would solve the Irish problem. The Irish would not endure the thought of having over themselves a special system of criminal laws and soon serious disorders were again rife.

The Irish Nationalists were bitterly angered at the ministry's coercive policy. Led by Parnell this parlia-

mentary group, numbering thirty-nine, leagued with the Conservatives and representatives of the brewers and saloon-keepers and defeated the administration on the liquor tax June 8, 1885. Gladstone forthwith resigned office to Lord Salisbury, the Conservative leader.

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CHAPTER XII

SALISBURY'S FIRST MINISTRY, 1885-1886, AND GLADSTONE'S THIRD MINISTRY, FEBRUARY-JULY, 1886

In Salisbury's brief ministry, June 24, 1885, to February, 1886, the Irish and Conservative parties drew together temporarily. Lord Carnarvon, the newly appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, expressed himself as not unfavorable to the Irish having a greater local autonomy. He expressed the intention of dropping the hated Crimes Act of his predecessor in office, and expected "Englishmen, Scotsmen and Irishmen to live together harmoniously in the United Kingdom as they did in the British colonies." Salisbury was thought to have had the Home Rule question in mind when making the following statement in a public address: "In a large central authority the wisdom of several parts of the country will correct the folly and mistake of one. In a local authority that correction is to a much greater extent wanting, and it would be impossible to leave that out of sight in any extension of local authority in Ireland."¹

In the general election held in November when the new franchise and redistribution of seats bill of 1884 first became operative the Parnellites heartily supported the Conservatives. No part of Ireland returned a single Liberal to Parliament. The cities and towns of England too mainly went Conservative. Gladstone's blunders in Egypt and the Soudan, fears as to his views on dises-

establishment of the English Church, and his policy of taxing more heavily the brewers told heavily against the Liberal candidates. But the agricultural laborers grateful for the new enfranchisement law turned out in full force and sent up enough Liberals to give Gladstone's party a total majority in Parliament of 85 over the Conservatives. Parnell brought with him this time 85 followers, and with their votes he was able exactly to offset or cancel the Liberal majority. The exact returns of the election were 335 Liberals, 249 Conservatives, and 86 Irish Nationalists. Thus the balance of power lay in the hands of the Home Rulers.

But doomed to speedy disappointment were the expectations of the Irish group. No sooner had the new Parliament met (January 12, 1886) than the announcement was made of the resignation of the amiable Lord Carnarvon. In the Queen's speech occurred the statement: "I have seen with deep sorrow the renewal since I last addressed you of the attempts to excite the people of Ireland to hostility against the legislative union between that country and Great Britain. I am resolutely opposed to any disturbance of that fundamental law." And the Chief Secretary to Ireland announced after a two days' visit to Dublin that a new Coercion Bill was to be at once introduced in Parliament, "dealing with the national league, intimidation, and the protection of life, property and public order." The friendly expressions of opinion concerning a freer Ireland made by a few Conservative leaders before and during a general election did not square well with the governmental policy of the Conservative ministry now in office. Disappointed and resentful Parnell turned again. He knew that Gladstone had lost faith in all efforts to quiet Ireland by coer-

cive methods, that he regarded the Irish question as paramount to all other questions, that he had vainly sought to get the Conservatives to co-operate with the Liberals in finding a solution of the Irish problem, and that he personally favored some form of home rule. The Irish leader reached the conclusion that he could get more for Ireland from the Liberals than from the Conservatives, and in consequence he now mustered his forces to Gladstone's side and had the pleasure of seeing the Salisbury ministry defeated. On the 27th of January the vote of censure in the form of an amendment to the Queen's address expressing "regret" at the omission of a minor allotment measure in the interest of the agricultural classes was passed and the Salisbury ministry was retired, placing Gladstone in power for the third time.

The veteran statesman, now 76 years of age, decided to undertake the laborious, heroic task of forming for Ireland a full-ordered system of self-government. This too notwithstanding the fact that in the general election just had Home Rule had not been the leading issue. He knew too he would encounter the bitterest opposition of influential classes in England and in the Protestant province of Ulster. Against him were the Conservative party, the Peers, the Queen, and several of the foremost men of his own party. Among his former ministerial colleagues and men of weight who would not follow him were Lord Hartington, the leader of the moderate Liberals; John Bright, a man of influence with the Non-Conformists; Trevelyan, former Chief Secretary for Ireland, and Chamberlain, head of the radical group. Gladstone claimed to offer a "plan of duly guarded home rule" that maintained in full the "unity of the empire, the authority of the crown, and the supremacy of the imperial parlia-

ment." His famous Home Rule Bill (1886) provided for an Irish Executive who had control of the police, and for a body of Irish representatives chosen by Irish constituencies. Ireland was no longer to have members in the English Parliament. Irish judges were to be under the control of the Irish Legislature; and the Irish Legislature, though given the right to levy taxes, was denied the power to place duties on British or foreign goods, to establish or endow any religious institution, and to deal with matters affecting the crown, army, navy, trade negotiations and coinage. In return for benefits received from the English connection, such as defense, Ireland was to pay into the British treasury for imperial expenses, a sum equal to one-twelfth of the British revenue. Along with his Home Rule Bill Gladstone introduced also a Land Purchase Bill. "Every Irish landlord was to have the option of selling his estate to the tenants, who would become the proprietors at once, though liable to a payment of interest at four per cent for forty-nine years. The price would be twenty years' purchase, the security would be the revenue of Ireland. If every landlord desired at once to sell the whole of his property, British credit might be pledged to the amount of a hundred and fifty millions sterling." ²

The effort to pass these bills engendered in Parliament, in the press, in political clubs, in family and in social gatherings, the bitterest discussions. The Prime Minister was termed a "Judas Iscariot." The best men of the nation who dared to espouse Home Rule had flung at them such epithets as "traitor," "sycophant," "coward." The union of Ireland and England was declared to be "sacred to the memory of Pitt." To yield to the Parnellites was to make terms with Fenian conspirators,

criminals and assassins. The land purchase act was objected to as "class legislation." Home Rule would mean Rome Rule, an idea fancied by neither the English Anglicans nor the Presbyterians of Scotland. It meant "separation," a dissolution of Empire. Against it were not a few illustrious men such as Huxley, Tyndall, Tennyson, Browning, Lecky, Seeley, and Froude. Lord Salisbury, the Conservative chief, expressed himself as satisfied that Ireland needed only "resolute government."

But Gladstone was tired of special Crime Acts and Arms Acts for Ireland, not believing that the Irish were unfit for self-government having taken a "double dose of original sin." He recognized that aristocratic power and influence were against him, but he hoped to win a victory through the people's support. "On the side of our opponents are found," he said, "as I sorrowfully admit in profuse abundance, station, title, wealth, social influence, the professions, or the large majority of them—in a word, the spirit and power of class. But this formidable array is the same that has fought in every one of the great political battles of the last sixty years and has been defeated. We have had great controversies before on free trade, free navigation, public education, religious equality, extension of the suffrage. On these and many other great issues the classes have fought uniformly on the wrong side, and have uniformly been beaten by a power more difficult to marshal, but resistless when marshalled—by the upright sense of the nation."

But as it turned out, Gladstone was unable to win his own party, much less the nation to his side. The bill was rejected in the Commons (June 8, 1886), the vote being 343 against 313. Ninety-three Liberals voted with the majority. Parliament having been dissolved, and appeal

made to the country, a still greater defeat was sustained. The result of the polls (July) was 315 Conservatives, 78 Liberal Unionists, 191 Liberals and 86 Irish Nationalists. The Liberal party had been disrupted. The 78 Liberal Unionists decided to co-operate with the Conservatives and support a Conservative ministry before they would yield to Gladstone's guidance in the matter of Home Rule. Since the Unionists could show a hostile majority of over 100, there was no course open to Gladstone but to resign. The Queen sent for Lord Salisbury, who began his second administration, which lasted for six years (August 3, 1886–August 18, 1892). Creditable to Salisbury's first brief administration of six months was the passage of several worthy measures, viz. an eight-penny income tax, an Australian Federation measure, a bill providing a Secretaryship for Scotland, a law for the better protection of young girls, an act empowering the local government councils to destroy houses unfit for habitation, a measure providing for better housing of working people, and a Land Act, modelled on Gladstone's Land Act of 1881, by which it was provided that tenants buying out their landlords might have advanced them as a loan by the government the whole amount of the purchase money, instead of only three-fourths of it as provided in the act of 1881.

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CHAPTER XIII

SALISBURY'S SECOND MINISTRY, 1886-1892, GLADSTONE'S FOURTH MINISTRY, 1892-1894

The government of the Unionists did not announce or undertake any special legislative program. The Cabinet was formed at first of Conservatives only, though Salisbury had invited some of the Liberal Unionist leaders to enter it, even going so far in his magnanimity as to promise Lord Hartington, possibly the most influential Liberal Unionist, the support of the Conservative party if he would undertake to form a ministry and head the government. But Hartington saw that the chief of a party group as small as his own could not expect to be prime minister, and as to his party uniting with the Conservatives, he knew that that combination was mainly on the one ground of a common hostility to Home Rule. On other questions the Hartington group being Liberals still preferred to stand apart and use their influence to "prevent the Conservative government from a retrograde policy." They sat, therefore, as ordinary members of the opposition, though they supported with their votes the Conservative government on most of its proposals, some of which concerning domestic reforms were certainly not illiberal, and others of which concerning colonial and foreign affairs involved no question of party.

Salisbury, who was Foreign Secretary as well as Prime Minister, was "Foreign Secretary first and Prime Minis-

ter afterwards." His excellent handling of external affairs won for him high recognition as a "skilful and peace-loving diplomatist." Among the important achievements of his administration may be mentioned the making of an international agreement with France that secured the neutralization of the Suez Canal, and threw open this highway of commerce to the ships of all nations, even to their vessels of war, though forbidding hostile manœuvres in the canal or on its banks; the making of a treaty with Russia, concerning the Afghan boundary, that maintained still Afghanistan as a buffer state beyond "the legitimate sphere of Russian influence" and strengthened the Ameer's throne, but yet by yielding to Russia certain minor territorial concessions in the Kush and Kasan valleys put an end to a serious controversy which in 1885 came near involving England and Russia in war; the favoring of the formation (1887) of the Triple Alliance between Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy, which (in Salisbury's opinion) would have the several effects of hindering France in efforts to win a naval supremacy in the Mediterranean, of holding Russia back in its land aggressive policy and of insuring for some years at least the peace of Europe; the relief of Suakin, a town on the Red Sea maintained as a check upon the slave trade, which the Dervishes threatened to attack but from which they were driven by a combined British and native force under the lead of British officers, an affair that made clear to all Europe that the safety and order of Europe were dependent directly on the British occupation; and the gaining of British territory in Africa, as well as the forming of agreements between England and the nations Portugal, France and Germany, marking out their respective spheres of control and influence in sec-

tions of the dark continent. Nyassaland and Uganda came into the control of the English who had but recently secured too Santa Lucia Bay on the east coast; and the districts of the Oil Rivers at the mouths of the Niger—Zanzibar, Matabeleland, Mashonaland, Manicaland, and Zululand—also became British through annexation or protectorates. Portugal secured a district of territory north of the Zambesi; France got Madagascar, the Congo territory on the west coast and the Sahara from Algeria to Timbuctoo; and to Germany was given by England in exchange for her claim to the Hinterland of German East Africa, the much coveted islet of Heligoland in Europe that lies at the mouth of the Elbe and that Germany needed for a naval coaling-station. In October, 1889, was granted the charter of the South African Company, a corporation "half commercial, half imperial," akin to the old East Indian Company, and like it in eventually bringing under English dominion the better part of an immense continent.

During Salisbury's ministry there assembled at the Foreign Office, April 4, 1887, the First Colonial Conference, a body of statesmen representing a population of nine millions and an area of seven million square miles "united by the golden link of the Crown."¹ Plans of union for imperial defense, unions for war, rather than schemes of constitution-making and political federation were the practical subjects the Prime Minister encouraged the conference to discuss and work out. One tangible result of the Conference was an increase in the number of cruisers in Australian waters for the protection of the shipping interest, the expense of maintaining the cruisers being borne by the Australian Government. In 1887 was formed the Council of Imperial Institute that

represented the British Isles, the Empire of India, and the Queen's Colonial possessions. In June of this year, too, was celebrated at Westminster Abbey the completion by Victoria of a half century's rule. In the brilliant throng, numbering 10,000 assembled within the noble Abbey for solemn religious services were rajahs from India, prime ministers of self-governing dependencies, delegates from the most distant colonies, the ecclesiastical and political dignitaries of Great Britain, members of the royal family, and the Crown Prince of Germany, Her Majesty's son-in-law. The great concourse of people gathered in London from all parts of the United Kingdom to witness the grand pageant in Parliament Street, and the joyful celebrations held that day in all parts of the empire were testimonies of love for the Queen, of loyalty and patriotism of British subjects and of the moral unity of the Empire. One feature of the celebration in India was releasing 25,000 prisoners. The jubilee strengthened the imperial idea too and directed attention to the necessity of strengthening the national defenses. The Two-Power naval standard was soon adopted and in 1889 a scheme was agreed to for enlarging the navy by 70 new ships that involved the expenditure of 21,500,000 pounds beyond the ordinary estimates.

The democratic and social measures of this ministry may be regarded as fruits grown on the Liberal Unionists' grafting recently implanted on the old Conservative stock. Their most successful measure was the conversion of the National Debt in 1888 by Mr. Goschen, a Liberal Unionist. He had been made Chancellor of the Exchequer in January, 1887, when Lord Randolph Churchill, a Conservative, had resigned the office on account of being unwilling to support certain extravagant mili-

tary expenditures the Cabinet favored. Mr. Goschen gave the holders of the government bonds, the option of being paid off in full at the nominal value of their bonds, or of retaining them and having the interest on them scaled from 3 to $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent and in 1903 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Those holding the securities preferred to continue to keep them, and the transaction thus netted the Government an annual saving in interest of 1,500,000 pounds. From the proceeds of increased liquor taxes Mr. Goschen enlarged the resources of the County Councils, and thus made possible some local governmental advances.

In 1888 was passed the important County and District Councils Act which created throughout England and Wales elective boards to which were transferred many of the powers formerly exercised by the justices of the peace at quarter sessions. "The pith and marrow of it was the substitution for administrative purposes of County Councils elected by the rate payers instead of county magistrates nominated by the Lord Lieutenant. As a court of justice and of appeal, the magistrates would continue to sit in Quarter Sessions as before."² London was also made a "separate administrative county," and to the new council were given practically all the more important powers and functions of local government, except control of the police, which order was left under the control of the Home Office, being regarded as a National and not a Municipal force. By the act the people of London were enabled for the first time to direct their own local government. There was a part of the metropolis, however, the old City of London, that remained distinct from the new county corporation, and that was allowed to retain its ancient rights and privileges. In 1889 Scotland had its local government reformed by the estab-

lishment of elective county boards and it also introduced through the local authorities free elementary education. In 1891 Parliament passed the Free Education Act which applied to England and Wales, and made the education gratuitous in the public elementary schools. In 1889 was passed a Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act, prohibiting the employment of children under 10 years of age. A useful Factory and Workshop Bill was carried in 1891, the object of which was to safeguard against unsanitary arrangements, against fire and accidents, and against such forms of commercial oppression as sweating. A new Public Health Act for London provided for cleaner pavements and a better water supply. The Small Holdings Act of 1892 was planned to furnish the thrifty working men with small allotments of land. The County Councils were to borrow funds and might assist the laborer to the extent of advancing three-fourths of the purchase money which was to be gradually paid off through rentals and yearly instalments.

For Ireland the Conservative Ministry's plan was "resolute government." The Crimes Act of the Chief Secretary, Mr. Balfour, passed in the Spring of 1887, was most stringent. While not suspending the Habeas Corpus Act or legalizing arbitrary imprisonment of subjects, it provided for bringing over to England for trial those committing serious crimes like murder. It gave the Lord Lieutenant power to declare illegal any sort of league or association he deemed dangerous, and it even allowed the trial of cases of conspiracy, by magisterial officers, many of whom were ignorant men, unversed in the law, instead of by juries as was required in England and Scotland. The severe measure was to be in force or left in abeyance at the discretion of the Lord Lieutenant,

but unlike former coercive acts that were limited in time, the Balfour Act was to remain a permanent part of the Irish legal system. To impede the passage of the bill the Irish representatives used all manner of obstructive tactics, necessitating the amending of the rules of debate and procedure. In 1879 it was estimated that "Parnell had spoken five hundred times, and that two others had spoken over three hundred times each."³ To facilitate the transaction of business the "cloture" had to be employed. The adoption of the new rules in the parliamentary session of 1887 consumed fifteen nights.

Of course coercion brought on again crimes and outrages. Lawlessness was at its height in the fall of 1887. When Parliament the previous year had rejected Parnell's Tenant and Leaseholder Relief Bill, that proposed in the interest of the distressed renters that a Land Court should have power "to reduce any judicial rent fixed before 1885, and that on payment of half the rent with arrears eviction should be suspended," there had been started a sort of no-rent league. It was agreed that all the tenants of any Irish estate who felt that their rents were excessive might meet and in common decide what rents they felt to be just; that they should offer these rents to their landlords, and that if the rents were not accepted in settlement, the money should be paid into a common treasury in the hands of trustees to be used to resist evictions. The government treated the association as an illegal conspiracy. Many league meetings were broken up, numerous agitators arrested, and leading political offenders, though members of Parliament like William O'Brien, seized and handled like ordinary criminals. Balfour eventually succeeded in bringing better order.

Remedial as well as repressive methods were employed. He reduced judicial rents fixed by earlier land courts, made land purchases easier and furnished material relief to large poverty stricken areas. In a visit to the poorest parts of the West of Ireland in the autumn of 1890, he saw for himself a state of destitution that he felt in duty bound to try to relieve. To furnish employment fourteen thousand pounds were spent in constructing railways,⁴ in which work as many as 13,000 men were employed at one time, for whom, when without shelter, the Government furnished huts. To mitigate the suffering caused by a potato-crop failure he raised a considerable charity fund and secured also a grant from the British Exchequer. The Government advanced money also for assisting in getting a large quantity of seed-potatoes for the spring planting in the famine district. The Land Act of 1888 authorized the advancing by the government authorities of another 5,000,000 pounds to tenant purchasers. Balfour's larger Land Purchase Bill of 1890 went much further. For the first time the state was allowed to advance the whole of the purchase price, the tenant to return the same by paying a four per cent annuity on his holding for forty-nine years and as much as 30,000,000 pounds was authorized to be spent by the Treasury in aiding buyers of land.

In 1887 interest in the Irish question was considerably stimulated by the publication in the London *Times* of a series of articles entitled "Parnellism and Crime." The *Times* presented several letters that bore Parnell's signature in which the Irish leader when in Kilmainham prison was inciting base fellows outside to commit crimes. In one of them appeared statements that might be construed

in a fashion that would indicate that Parnell had sanctioned or condoned, if he had not instigated, the assassinations of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke in Phoenix Park. Parnell categorically denied from his seat in Parliament the authenticity of the letters; and next year an investigating Government Commission of three judges discovered that they were forgeries. A needy adventurer, "Dick Pigott," had sold them at a handsome price to the manager of the *Times*. In course of the trial the wretch had confessed, recanted and then confessed a second time. Finally he fled from England to Spain, and finding when in Madrid that detectives were close on his heels he blew out his brains in his room at the hotel. Parnell instituted a suit against the *Times* for libel and forced the paper to pay him 5,000 pounds damages. The expense of the whole inquiry amounting to 250,000 pounds had to be borne by the *Times* also. The final report of the Government Commission of three judges, made in February, 1890, completely exonerated Parnell, and his colleagues.

Noting the result of the investigation and trial on public opinion, Gladstone, whose mind was wholly set on Ireland, began to draw closer to Parnell. In mid-December of 1889 the Irish chief was a guest at Hawarden, Gladstone's home, when the outlines of another Home Rule bill were drawn up. A conclave of prominent Liberals had been held, and their decision to retain, though with reduction in number, the Irish members at Westminster when granting Home Rule had made some of these men better pleased with the bill. Cecil Rhodes, the South African "Diamond King," had come to the support of the Irish cause too. Rhodes was inter-

ested in Imperial Federation. He believed that for Ireland to have her own legislature for local affairs, as well as to have representation in the English Parliament, would further his plan of having a grand imperial Assembly representing all of England's dominions. He offered 10,000 pounds to Parnell in 1888 for advancing the Nationalists' cause on condition that the Irish members should not be excluded from Westminster by the final Home Rule Act, as had been the case with the defeated Home Rule Bill of 1886. In the parliamentary bye-elections some of the Liberal candidates had been boldly advancing the policy of conciliating Ireland as against the Unionist plan of coercion and had been winning the seats. That the Unionists were weakening and the opposition gaining strength these years is shown by the fact that there were seventy-seven constituencies which in 1886 were represented by forty-seven Unionists and thirty Liberals, that in the fall of 1890 were represented by thirty-six Unionists and forty-one Liberals. But just as the tide of public favor toward Home Rule began to flow strongly, and the Gladstonians and Parnellites were becoming intimately friendly, the whole political world was astounded and shocked by the rumor that Captain O'Shea was petitioning for a divorce on the ground that Parnell had for years been living with his wife. The news seemed unbelievable for O'Shea had been the emissary of Parnell when in jail, and had been instrumental in getting Parnell's release from Kilmainham prison under Gladstone's administration. But the charge was true. Parnell did not undertake to defend himself, and the Court (November 17, 1890) pronounced a condemnatory decree. Parnell later married Mrs. O'Shea.

The ugly incident was of great political significance. It virtually destroyed Parnell as the leader of the Irish party. He refused to resign the premiership of the Irish Nationalist group and for the remainder of his life, which lasted only about a year, he waged a bitter contest to maintain his place, the wrangle causing division in the Irish parliamentary group. But the strain and disgrace soon told on his strength, and in 1891 at the early age of 45, he died "killing himself by overwork."

The incident gave a considerable set-back to the Home Rule Cause. Until Parnell was out of the way Ireland itself was divided. The Catholic Church could not encourage its members to give loyal allegiance to the guilty chief, the destroyer of the peace of a home. Many of the English Liberals among the Non-Conformists and Churchmen withdrew at once from co-operation with the Parnellites. Gladstone declared that his own leadership of the Liberal party would be "almost a nullity" if Parnell continued at the head of the Irish Nationalists, and later he openly opposed him. Eventually only 26 of the 70 Irish members of Parliament stuck to Parnell; 44 left him, choosing Mr. Justin McCarthy as their chief. With this McCarthy group Gladstone continued to work. He had been laboring in the hope of winning in the approaching general election a big enough Liberal majority to settle the Irish question possibly independently of the Irish group. But after this "heaviest blow ever received" he saw this was impossible. The general election of July, 1892, held on the dissolution of parliament by Salisbury was a great disappointment to him. He received only a majority of 40, in which had to be included all the Irish Home Rulers. The verdict of the polls was 269 Conservatives and 46 Liberal

Unionists against 274 Gladstonians and 81 Irish Nationalists. The Liberal party had suffered in the campaign not only from the Irish split but also from the "Newcastle programme." This platform had been drawn up by the National Liberal Federation at Newcastle in October of 1891. In the effort to reconcile various rival groups of Liberals and Radicals by giving something to each, and to make a platform broad enough for all to stand upon, a very comprehensive scheme had been evolved, including besides Home Rule, Disestablishment of the Church in Wales and Scotland, local option, abolition of plural voting, payment of salaries to members of parliament, employers' liability for accidents, and the establishment of councils for parishes. Each of these proposals had its army of opponents and their united strength had told mightily on election day. The Conservatives had received the support of the Anglican clergy, of the organized liquor trade, and of a great body of employers of labor. Gladstone entering now upon his fourth ministry found himself "in the hands of his allies from across St. George's channel." He had to make Home Rule the foremost question of his administration. But he wanted to.

The Home Rule Bill of 1893 differed from the Home Rule Bill of 1886 mainly in two respects: (1) the Irish legislature was to consist of two houses instead of one, the upper house to be composed of 48 members chosen by persons owning considerable property, "with a ratable holding of 20 pounds or more," and the lower to be composed of 103 members representing the existing parliamentary electoral districts of Ireland; and (2) Ireland was to have representatives at Westminster, 80 of them, who were to vote on all imperial concerns but not on

matters that concerned solely England or Scotland, or on taxes not levied in Ireland, or on appropriations for other than imperial purposes. As in the bill of 1886 the Irish parliament was to have nothing to do with the control of the army, navy, customs, trade, and foreign affairs; but otherwise the country was to be given full authority, and to have complete control of all internal matters, such as police, laws, taxes, and education.

The bill was detested by the Conservatives, and so fierce was the opposition and lengthy the debate, that it took six months to get it through the Commons. The measure passed on its third reading by a vote of 301 to 267, but on being sent to the House of Lords it was at once rejected by the overwhelming majority of 419 to 41 (September 8, 1893).

Since the nation received the news with apathy and a general election had been held the previous year, Gladstone did not deem it wise to dissolve parliament, and make an appeal to the country against the Lords; but decided to retain office and proceed at once to the consideration and passage of other Liberal measures, demanded by his party. An Employers' Liability Bill, which made certain employers of labor responsible for injuries sustained by their servants, and a Parish Councils Bill, which proposed to establish elective councils for parishes in England and Wales, thus extending the system of local government begun in 1888 to smaller areas than counties and giving agricultural laborers a share in the management of their affairs were taken up. The second became law but the other he abandoned when the Lords had succeeded in inserting a clause that allowed employers to "contract out" from the benefits of the act. In March, 1894, the aged Premier announced

that he must lay down the burden of office. He was now eighty-four years of age, eyesight and hearing were failing, and the responsibility of government he wished to lay on younger shoulders. The approximate cause of his resignation was his strong objection to an increase of 3,126,000 pounds in the naval estimates over the expenditure of the previous year. In his last parliamentary deliverance, a simple announcement that the minor changes made in the Parish Councils Bill by the Peers would be accepted, he pointed out the "moral of the political situation" declaring that the House of Lords was acting unwisely in blocking so frequently the passage of laws desired by the House of Commons, that the grave differences raised between them could not continue, but must "go forward to an issue," in which the Government would take fully, frankly and finally the side of the House of Commons."⁵ His remarks attracted no special attention at the time, his audience not knowing that these were the last words which that legislative chamber would hear fall from his lips, "the last political will and testament of the greatest man who had sat in the Commons since the younger, if not the elder, Pitt." On tendering his resignation to the Queen Her Majesty appointed Lord Rosebery Prime Minister, not even consulting Gladstone, with whose advanced liberalism she had not been in full sympathy and whom she was perfectly willing to have retire. The "Grand Old Man," whom his rival Lord Salisbury spoke of as possessing "the most brilliant intellect ever devoted to the service of the State since Parliamentary Government began," lived only four years after his withdrawal from public life, dying May 19, 1898.

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CHAPTER XIV

THE MINISTRIES OF ROSEBERRY, 1894-1895, SALISBURY, 1895-1902, AND BALFOUR, 1902-1905

When Gladstone in 1894 tendered his resignation to Queen Victoria, partly on account of the infirmities of age, failure of eyesight and hearing, and partly on account of his objection to larger naval expenditures, Lord Rosebery was invited by the Sovereign to head the government. His ministry was brief (March, 1894-June, 1895), and without large achievements. Though distinguished as a writer and orator, and possessed of fine literary ability and artistic taste, the Premier lacked political experience. He had never been a member of the House of Commons, nor did he have well thought out, settled convictions as to governmental policy. He did not have the full support of his party. Heading a "divided and dispirited Government" he had responsibility without power. The best legislative work of his administration was the Budget of 1894. This instituted graduated duties on real and personal property passing at death. It imposed assessments varying from 1 to 8 per cent according to the value of the estate, and brought into the Treasury the sum of 4,000,000 pounds. Efforts made to pass a bill for the Disestablishment of the Church in Wales and to carry an Evicted Tenants Bill for Ireland were unsuccessful. Defeated during the session of 1895 on a minor amendment to the army esti-

mates the disheartened Cabinet realized that it was making no genuine progress and resigned June 21, 1895.

In the general election that followed the Conservatives and Liberal Unionists won a majority of 152 seats over the Gladstonian Liberals and Irish Nationalists. The verdict at the polls reflected the rift Gladstone had made in his party by his last Home Rule bill; and showed that the country was with the House of Lords on that proposal. Evidently their defeat of the measure was popular. The Conservatives and Liberal Unionists were able to get together because the former were beginning now to show democratic tendencies and the latter imperialistic. The reins of state were again placed in the hands of Lord Salisbury, the Conservative leader. In forming his government he placed some of the most important offices in the hands of prominent Liberals. Hartington was made President of the Council; Lansdowne, Secretary for War; Chamberlain, Colonial Secretary; and Goschen, First Lord of the Admiralty. This was Salisbury's third ministry. It extended from June, 1895, to July, 1902, and during it foreign affairs were to the fore.

The ministry's record in domestic legislation was not extraordinary and may be quickly told. The Agricultural Rating Act of 1896, "a piece of class legislation," lowered the assessment of land and gave 1,000,000 pounds in relief of rates, a relief amounting to about one shilling per acre. The Workmen's Compensation Act of 1897 increased the workingman's opportunity of enforcing claims against his employer in case of injury or accident, but workmen were allowed to contract out of the provisions of the law and certain classes of labor such as domestics and farm hands were excluded from its bene-

fits. The Government of London Act of 1899 created sixteen virtually independent municipalities in the area of the London County Council's government but it left to the old City of London corporation its privileges. The Voluntary Schools Bill of 1897 increased the grant of money to schools not under public control. In 1901 was established a Board of Education that took over the work of certain educational departments with the purpose of improving and making more uniform the elementary educational system as well as of coordinating better the work of the primary and secondary schools.¹ Important were two measures for Ireland: the one of 1899 establishing a Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, the other the Local Government Act of 1898 that established popularly elected County Councils. Beneficial was the introduction in 1898 of a penny postage between the home land and most of the dependencies of the Empire.

Notable was the development in imperialism. Closer union between England and the Colonies was constantly and ably advocated by Mr. Chamberlain, the interesting Colonial Secretary. In 1897 was celebrated the "Diamond Jubilee" marking the sixtieth year of the rule of Queen Victoria at which were gathered the premiers of the self-governing dependencies, delegates from the royal colonies, and representatives from India. Mr. Chamberlain used the opportunity to assemble in conference foremost statesmen from various quarters of the Empire for consultation and discussion concerning the weighty matters of imperial defense, colonial union and commercial regulations. The necessity and mutual benefits of drawing closer the governmental ties that bound together the scattered parts of the Empire were recognized and empha-

sized as well as the justice and wisdom of all parts of the imperial dominion sharing the burden of imperial defense. But no general agreement as to state policy on these questions was arrived at. One of Mr. Chamberlain's plans for bringing about a closer federation of the self-governing colonies with England was to institute a system of preferential tariffs within the Empire. In the colonial conference were sounded the first notes of the heated tariff controversy that took definite shape five or six years later and that proved a chief cause of the fall of the Unionist government in 1905. Of imperial significance also was the passage by the British Parliament in 1900 of the Australian Commonwealth Act. The new federal state, with an appointed Governor-General to represent the Sovereign, a Senate of elected delegates from the incorporated states and a House of Representatives elected by the people came into being January 1, 1901.

The foreign affairs, which occupied the attention of the government, concerned Armenia, Crete, Venezuela, China, Afghanistan, Egypt and the Transvaal. In the years 1894, 1895 and 1896 occurred horrible massacres of Armenian Christians by the Turks. The Sultan countenanced if he did not instigate the murderous work on the ground that these Christians were anarchists and revolutionists trying to undermine his throne. As many as 100,000 of them were killed in these years. When a group of Armenians in retaliation had succeeded in August, 1896, in dynamiting some buildings in Constantinople and seizing the Ottoman Bank there were murdered 5,000 of them in the streets of that one city. Loud and vehement were the denunciations of the barbarities of the Turk these years all over Europe and

especially in England where Gladstone tried in vain to rouse his country to take independent action in behalf of Armenia. Formal protests were made by the consuls of France, England and Russia, and their joint pressure on the Sultan led to a promise of instituting reforms. But this method of correcting the abuses was ineffectual. Russia stood out firmly against the use of any coercive measure against the Sultan, fearing that such interference by any of the great Powers might issue in erecting "a new Bulgaria in Armenia." The so-called Concert of Powers revived by Salisbury for the purpose of supervising the promised reforms in the disturbed area was unsuccessful. It lacked force. More than external moral pressure was needed to change the political methods of the Turkish Government.

In the rising of the Christians of Crete against the Sultan's misrule in 1896 and in the Graeco-Turkish War of 1897 which grew out of the Greeks' support of the Cretans in their effort to win independence for their island, a different line was taken by Salisbury and a better result ensued. The demand of the Powers that the Cretan Christians should have a share in their government was followed by the act of surrounding the island promptly with their fleets.² The bombardment of Candia by the British and the threat of single-handed intervention led to the evacuation of Crete by the Turks. Prince George of Greece was made governor of the island December 21, 1898. The Greeks benefited also from Salisbury's interference. In 1897 he secured for them when defeated in their fight better terms than the Turks were at first inclined to yield.

The Venezuelan controversy arose out of the fact that the Republic of Venezuela laid claim to all the land

which had been given to Spain by the bull of Pope Alexander VI granted in 1492 when dividing the newly discovered world between Portugal and Spain though some of this land had been gained in 1814 by Great Britain from Holland and was now a part of British Guiana. The President of the United States, Grover Cleveland, seemed inclined to support Venezuela in the boundary dispute as against England: and taking the stand that encroachments here on the part of Great Britain would be contravening the Monroe Doctrine, he declared his readiness to oppose such advance with armed force. He demanded of England that the matter should be submitted to a board of arbitration and that England should promise beforehand that she would abide by whatever decision the board reached. The British nation did not at all relish Cleveland's peremptoriness and there was some heated feeling and passionate war-like talk. But the self-control, cool-headedness, and good judgment of Salisbury warded off trouble and brought the matter after a few months to a happy issue. Ignoring the threat, assured of the justice of his course and seeing that the House of Commons desired the dispute arbitrated, he finally accepted the American proposal of adjudication which he at first had rejected. Two British and two United States judges and a Russian jurist formed the arbitration tribunal which in October, 1899, rendered a verdict quite favorable to England giving her pretty nearly everything she claimed.

Since the Venezuelan controversy nothing has happened to interrupt the feeling of amity and concord existing between the United States and Great Britain. A sign of this goodwill was the new agreement made concerning the building of an isthmian canal connecting the

Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. In 1901 the Clayton-Bulwer treaty between England and the United States formed in 1850 was annulled and substituted by the Hay-Pauncefote treaty. The former agreement was to the effect that the "two powers should jointly guarantee the neutrality of any canal they constructed across the isthmus and that other nations should have a right to subscribe to the treaty if they chose."⁸ The latter provided for the United States alone to build it and to guarantee its neutrality. No other nation became a party to the pledge and nothing was said against fortifications. It is pleasing to note that amicable settlement was had of several differences that arose during the century between these two countries. One dispute concerning the ownership of the island of San Juan was allowed by common consent of both governments to be settled by the German Emperor who in 1872 gave the island to the United States. The Alaska boundary controversy, which arose out of the indefinite terms in the purchase treaty made by the United States with Alaska in 1867, was settled satisfactorily by a board of six arbiters. The century long wrangle concerning American and Canadian fishery rights was adjusted finally by the decision of the Hague Tribunal in 1910.

In 1898 Salisbury had to give special attention to the Far Eastern situation. The conditions in China made it appear that the old empire might possibly become dismembered and that much of its territory might be divided out among European powers. After the small nation, Japan, had so easily defeated the Chinese in the War of 1894, several governments of Europe on one pretext or another sought and got foothold on the Chinese seacoast and marked out for themselves re-

spective spheres of influence and trade. In November, 1897, Germany seized the port of Kiau-Chau on the Shantung promontory assigning as her reason for this action the desire to obtain satisfaction for the murder of certain German missionaries in the adjacent territory. The seizure was legalized a few months later through a treaty, by which this port and the adjacent territory was leased to Germany for a term of ninety-nine years with the right to construct railways, establish fortifications, station troops, and undertake various enterprises throughout the whole province of Shantung. Russia immediately followed Germany's move. First obtaining permission in December, 1897, to winter her squadrons at Port Arthur in the Liaotung peninsula, she shortly effected an agreement with China by which Port Arthur, Talienwan and the adjacent territory were leased for a term of twenty-five years with the understanding that the lease could be subsequently extended longer by mutual consent. France a year or two later got a port on the Kuang-Chau Bay, and Japan obtained the pledge from China that none of the territory of the province of Fukien opposite the Island of Formosa should be alienated to any power other than Japan.

Salisbury at the first attempted to prevent these territorial aggressions on China and sought only to maintain commercial privileges for England but failing to restrain other governments he changed his policy. In 1898 in the interest of maintaining the balance of power in China he occupied the port of Wei-hai-Wei which faces Port Arthur on the other side of the Gulf of Pechili and in addition secured from China the pledge that no portion of the Yang-Tse basin should be mortgaged, leased or ceded to another power. In order to

strengthen and better to defend her settlement at Hong-kong England soon secured the lease also of a piece of the adjoining mainland. These encroachments of European nations on Chinese territory, the hatred of foreign devils and strong opposition to innovations and reforms undertaken by the young Emperor and liberal leaders representing the so-called Western Culture brought about a revolution in China. The aged and conservative Empress Dowager succeeded in seizing again supreme authority: and at the same time, possibly with the government's connivance, arose the "Boxers," a band of conspirators who sought to run out of the country or murder foreigners and native Christians. On June 20, 1900, the British Legation at Peking filled with European refugees, among them the foreign missionaries, was besieged by the Boxers. A military force of 20,000 under command of Count von Waldersee composed of troops from the United States, Japan, Russia, France and Germany was sent to raise the siege which was accomplished in August, 1900. The head of the anti-foreign movement Prince Tuan, who had been supported by some of the imperial troops, was banished; the leading Boxers were punished; measures for the future security of foreigners were obtained; and in final settlement a war indemnity of about \$330,000,000 was forced on the country. The "open door" policy in trade was also directly agreed to by the Powers, an achievement in the main of Mr. John Hay, the United States Secretary of State. This left England, which had secured about 80 per cent of China's foreign trade, in as strong a commercial position as ever; but the fact that Germany and Russia, England's rivals, had gotten territorial footholds in China was not pleasing to the English

public and for this reason Salisbury's Chinese policy was not considered by many altogether successful.

On the North-West frontier of India occurred in 1895 and 1897 formidable uprisings of some of the wild border tribes adjoining the independent buffer state of Afghanistan. The relief of Chitral, a British outpost that had suffered attack, was gained only after a prolonged siege of a month and a half, and the suppression of the insurrection in the Tirah valley was accomplished (1898) only after a long difficult and costly campaign necessitating the sending of a military expeditionary force of 60,000 men.

An important feat of Salisbury's ministry was the final conquest of the Soudan. From 1885 to 1896 the British Government maintained a defensive attitude, withdrawing its troops from Soudanese territory and holding only frontier outposts at Suakin and Wady Halfa. But having trained its Egyptian army by English officers into a more efficient force, and having built a military railway from Wady Halfa to Abu Hamed the government undertook again to subdue the country sending in a considerable British Army. The conquest of the Soudan was felt to be necessary to secure Egypt from attacks from that quarter, to restore national honor impaired by former defeat and to "avenge Gordon." In September, 1896, the Anglo-Egyptian army occupied Dongola, and in September, 1897, Berber and in September, 1898, Khartoum. In 1898 the Dervishes were defeated at Atbara, and the Khalifa's army was routed at Omdurman by Kitchener with a loss of 11,000 of its men. In November, 1899, the Khalifa himself was slain. These rapid and steady successes "restored British self-respect and gave Egypt the security necessary for internal develop-

ment.”⁴ In January, 1899, the Soudan was declared to be under the joint sovereignty of Great Britain and Egypt. Its trade and commercial privileges were declared free to all peoples and nations. The erection at Khartoum of a college as a memorial of Gordon was indicative of England's enlightened policy of rule.

The issue of the Fashoda incident in 1898 was a credit to Salisbury. Major Marchand in command of a small military force from the Congo had hoisted the French flag at Fashoda, a station on the Nile 300 miles above Khartoum, an act which England regarded as unfriendly since it threatened the control of that important river and valley by Great Britain. No attack was made on the French party though the English troops could easily have dislodged them. The firm and positive demand of Lord Salisbury on the French Government proved sufficient. France issued an order to Marchand to retire.

Of most serious character was the South African difficulty. With the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand in 1886 there began a rapid immigration of adventurous foreigners into the Transvaal. These trades-men, miners, laborers, technical experts and managers who had come to work the mines were termed “Outlanders”; and among these “birds of passage” were to be found representatives of all races under the sun, though the British element was vastly predominant. By 1892 these strangers in the Dutch Republic numbered 77,000 and exceeded the Boers three to one. Since the Conservative Boers and especially President Krüger feared the political consequences of this increasing foreign population they did not accord them equal civil and political privileges with themselves, but on the contrary discriminated against them in matters of enfranchisement, representation in

legislative bodies, education, taxation and the like. When the Outlanders in 1892 formed the Transvaal National Union for the purpose of airing their grievances and improving their condition and made appeal for aid directly to Great Britain, Krüger began to curry favor with Germany and Holland and to import secretly large quantities of ammunition and arms. Since the Dutch claimed that their Republic was a free and independent state and were ready to fight for their contention while England claimed that the state was under her sovereignty it was inevitable that conflict sooner or later would come. In 1899 the Boer War began, the first contest with white men that England had had since the Crimean War.

England was unprepared, lacking troops, ammunition, maps, artillery and transports. The British underestimated the strength of their opponents, and were ignorant of the Boers' military preparations, remarkable courage, excellent marksmanship and ability in irregular warfare. At first victory after victory went to the Boers—Stormberg, Magersfontein, Colenso, and Spionkop. They besieged the British in Ladysmith and Kimberley; and their splendid fighting under the able generalship of Cronje, DeWet and Louis Botha excited the astonishment and admiration of the world. Their tenacious resistance lasted nearly three years. Not until overwhelmed by vastly superior numbers did they yield. England raised her active army forces to 250,000, adding reinforcements of regulars or yeomanry and of troops from the colonies. From India, Canada, Cape Town, and Australia came military aid, over 450,000 men being sent by England to South Africa during the conflict. Lord Roberts was the Commander-in-Chief. In the closing months of the conflict under Lord Kitchener the number of England's

soldiers in South Africa to that of the Boers was as twenty to one. End of the guerilla warfare was only made by erecting block-houses at intervals, erecting barbed-wire entanglements and making a long series of "drives." On June 1, 1902, the peace terms were signed at Vereeniging, by which both the Orange Free State and the Transvaal lost their independence and were made portions of the British Empire. The struggle added to England's national debt 160 millions.

England's treatment of the conquered was generous and liberal. Money on easy terms was furnished for rebuilding their economic life, the largest sort of freedom was given in their local government; and some of the ablest leaders of the Boer revolt were honoured by being placed in responsible offices in the new government; e.g. —Louis Botha was made Prime Minister of the Transvaal, who in graceful recognition of the courtesy "presented to the Crown the finest jewel in the world." ⁵

As to the justice, necessity, and conduct of the Boer War opinion among members of the Liberal Party was quite divided at times. Salisbury noting in 1900 the acute dissensions among his political opponents and being confident as to the result of a "Khaki election," suddenly in the midst of the conflict dissolved Parliament and appealed to the country for its verdict on his policy. He had the pleasure of seeing enough Conservatives and Liberal Unionists returned to give his coalition ministry an undiminished majority. At the conclusion of the war however in the summer of 1902 on account of failing health he resigned office. The premiership fell to his nephew Mr. Arthur Balfour. A year later, August 22, occurred the death of Salisbury.

BALFOUR'S MINISTRY, AUGUST 1902—DECEMBER 1905

Among the more important legislative activities of this ministry were the Education Act (1902), the Irish Land Act (1903) and the measures for reorganization of the Army (1904). The Education Act abolished the School Boards, placed in the hands of the County and Town Councils the control of primary education and gave to the denominational schools support from the tax rates. It provided that the secular education in these denominational schools should be under the control of the public authority. Since it required the head teacher and a permanent majority of the managers of the church schools to belong to the denomination and since most of these schools belonged to the Anglican Church the measure was not at all liked by the Non-Conformists. Their hostility and resistance to the Act was not without effect upon the popularity and strength of Balfour's ministry. The Irish Land Act, improved by an amendment in 1909, made possible the outright purchase by tenants of their holdings from landlords by the government's furnishing the purchase money needed. The tenant was allowed to return the loan in annual installments which were less in amount than the former annual rental and ran over a period of forty-nine years. The tenants had received by earlier land acts the privilege of getting purchase money from the Treasury for acquiring their holdings, but not enough always to bridge the chasm between the price the tenant would offer and the price the landlord would take. The new law made possible more transfers and has resulted in Ireland becoming more and more a country of free-holders. Increase of land-owning by the Irish has

been attended too by economic and educational advance.

The army reforms grew out of the unwelcome facts revealed at the outbreak of the Boer War concerning the unpreparedness, inefficiency and general defectiveness of England's whole military department. The Commission of Inquiry appointed by the government in 1902 to investigate and report on the country's military system condemned unsparingly the methods of the War Office and showed that a thoroughgoing reorganization was needed. As the result of the work of a War Office Reconstruction Committee the office of Commander-in-Chief was done away with and control was placed in the hands of an Army Council composed of four military members and of one civil and one finance member whose president was the Secretary for War. A new important military Board, the Committee of Imperial Defense, was formed at the head of which was the Prime Minister and under which was a staff of ten or more military and naval officers. Better treatment and better pay was provided for the private soldier and a special board was named for controlling army appointments. At the same time improvements were made in the naval department. Obsolete ships were sent to the scrap-heap, the method of selecting cadets was altered and plans laid for a steady enlargement of the navy. The government's policy appeared in the Cawdor Memorandum of 1905 advising the building every year of four modern dreadnaughts. "Tinkering with the tariff," as Americans say, seems to have caused the fall of Balfour's ministry. In 1903 on returning from a visit to South Africa, the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Chamberlain, suddenly and with rather startling effect presented in a speech the plan of employing a preferential tariff scheme as a means for binding together

better the colonies and the mother-land. He believed that the high protective systems of such nations as the United States and Germany had given them great advantages over free-trade England in allowing them to exclude from their markets England's wares while enjoying the right and practice of freely dumping their own products on the markets of Great Britain and her colonies. He held that industrial and commercial conditions had changed radically since the days of Peel, Bright and Cobden; likewise the Colonial ambitions of rival nations and the comparative manufacturing and military strength of different countries; and that the introduction of a system of reciprocity and preferential duties in colonial trade would benefit the whole British Empire. Such a plan would bring industrial prosperity to the homeland and bind together with the golden bands of mutual commercial advantage all parts of the realm. He would not tax raw materials needed for English factories but he would place moderate tariffs on such food products as grain, flour, butter, cheese, meats, and on foreign factory wares. He would reduce somewhat the duties levied on the table comforts, teas, coffee, sugar and cocoa.

His views attracted universal attention at the time and no end of discussion. The costs and indebtedness incurred in the war just ended, the general business depression, lack of employment, jealousy of the growing power of rival nations, and the spirit of imperialism all tended to lend interest to his arguments and appeal. But since his proposal involved raising the price of food and contained the erroneous implication that custom revenues would not suffer though fewer imports were allowed he could win neither the majority of his fellow-members of the cabinet nor a majority of the public to accept his

views and leadership in the matter. Balfour was not opposed to the retaliatory feature of the proposition; but he did not favor the increased tax on the people's bread. The plan as a whole was regarded by the Prime Minister as impracticable and inopportune. He finally informed Chamberlain that the question of preferential tariffs could not be brought up during the existing Parliament and made the suggestion that it be considered at length and formulated better at the next Colonial Conference. Mr. Chamberlain thereupon resigned from the Cabinet. Shortly after this several other members of the Cabinet quit also but strange to say for opposite reason. They were not followers of Chamberlain but held free-trade principles. They became dissatisfied because Balfour expressed certain fiscal views that to them savoured a bit of the proposed protective programme. The Cabinet reconstructed with less capable men held on though with failing powers and waning prestige until 1905. Conscious of the dissensions and divisions in his following that had arisen over not only the tariff question but over problems connected with education, labor, the army, and the aftermath of the Boer War Balfour in December of that year resigned also. He hoped that the disaffected Liberals would not be able to form a ministry and that he and the Conservatives would be recalled to power. He was disappointed. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the foremost Liberal, became Prime Minister and formed a Cabinet having such able political leaders as Asquith, made Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sir Edward Grey, Foreign Secretary. When in January, 1906, Parliament was dissolved and appeal made to the country for support of the Liberal programme which demanded "the exclusion of Chinese labor from

the Transvaal; the emendation of the Education Act in the interest of the Non-Conformists; the reduction and national control of liquor licenses; and sweeping measures for social and industrial betterment," the party gained the grandest victory at the polls and the greatest majority in Parliament won since the election following the passage of the Reform Bill of 1832.

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CHAPTER XV

MINISTRIES OF CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, 1906-1908, AND OF ASQUITH UP TO 1914

A new epoch of reform activity was opened in 1906 when the Conservatives who had enjoyed with the exception of three years under Gladstone and Rosebery (1892-1895) an uninterrupted lease of power for twenty years were ousted from leadership by the general election of that year. The returns showed 378 Liberals, 53 Labor representatives and 83 Irish Nationalists as against 131 Conservatives and 25 Liberal Unionists. A few of the Labor and Irish members were pledged to vote independently of party but still the government could command a Liberal and Labor majority over all other groups combined of about 134. This majority was reduced considerably in the two general elections of 1910—one concerning the Budget and the other concerning limiting the powers of the House of Lords—so that the Liberal ministry had then to depend on the Irish Nationalist vote as well as on the Labor vote to conduct business.¹

Bold was the spirit, radical and progressive were the principles of the Liberal government as it pressed forward its measures of political democracy and social reform led first by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Prime Minister until his death in 1908; and then by Mr. Asquith, his successor in office, supported by his fearless, able Chancellor of the Exchequer Mr. Lloyd George. Among

the foremost subjects dealt with were Irish Home Rule, restriction of the powers of the House of Lords, the disestablishment of the Church of Wales, the reform of the taxing system, land reform, Workmen's Compensation, Labor Organizations, Education and Child Welfare, Employer's Liability, Old Age Pensions and National Insurance.

This full and varied program was necessitated in large part by the nature and demands of several strong organizations that had backed the Liberals in the election. Support had come from the United Irish League of Great Britain that denounced the Conservatives' long rule of coercion for Ireland; from the Independent Labour Party, a moderate socialistic body organized by Keir Hardie in 1893; from the Fabian Society formed in the early eighties and led by Sydney and Beatrice Webb, G. B. Shaw and H. G. Wells that advocated the municipal or national ownership of land and industrial capital; from the Social Democratic Federation formed in 1883 demanding the state maintenance of children and the provision by the State of work for the unemployed; and from the Congress of Trade Unions held not long before the election representing about one and a half million of organized workers which favored such proposals as the nationalization of mines and railways, municipal banking, secular education in the state schools and old age pensions. Trade Unions sent in 1906 about half a hundred members to Parliament. The enactments of the Liberals revealed a more tender regard for the welfare of the workingman than for the interests of the capitalist or land-owner. The area of state interference in industry was enlarged; and individualistic methods gave place in some lines to collectivism and public action. The pow-

ers of democracy were consciously organized for the purpose of meeting various social needs. Mr. Alden well expressed the new attitude. "The main point is that the function of the State in the mind of the Liberal and Radical of to-day is much wider in scope than seemed possible to our predecessors. The State avowedly claims the right to interfere with industrial liberty and to modify the old economic view of the disposal of private property. Liberalism recognizes that it is no longer possible to accept the view that all men have an equal chance. . . . The Liberal asks that such economic changes shall be introduced as will make it possible for every man to possess a minimum of security and comfort. Property is no longer to have an undue claim; great wealth must be prepared to bear burdens in the interests of the whole community. Our social system must have an ethical basis." ² Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman declared "that underlying every proposal of his government would be a policy of social reconstruction looking toward a greater equalization of wealth, and the destruction of the oppressive monopolies of the land and of liquor." Mr. Asquith stated "that the injustice of the present social system rendered a popular attack upon it inevitable"; that "property must be associated in the minds of the masses of the people with the ideas of reason and justice." Some of the ameliorative measures of the Liberals that concerned labor conditions and the care of children and dependents were in keeping with the avowed principles of the Conservatives who since the days of Disraeli had proclaimed as a chief plank in their party platform social betterment. The party that had heralded its faith in the paternalistic creed of benevolent government could hardly hope for the future support of the masses had

it voted down such bills as those providing meals for the children of the poor at school, compensation to workmen accidentally injured and assistance to the industrious laborer in finding employment. The Workmen's Compensation Act (1906) consolidated the laws making employers liable for payment to employees for injuries by accident suffered in their work. An Education Act of the same year conferred on the local educational authorities the power to provide the means of furnishing meals to school children. They may provide buildings, furniture and managers necessary for the preparation and service of meals. They are to collect the cost of furnishing the meals from the children's parents in case the parents are able to pay. If not the local authorities may apply to the Board of Education and that board may authorize them to spend out of the rates such sum as will meet the cost of the provision of such food provided that the amount expended does not exceed the sum produced by a rate of one half penny in the pound.

The Children's Act sought to guard against cruel treatment of children at the hands of their parents, to classify and train properly the youths in reformatories and like penal institutions, to care better for the juvenile criminals by providing probation officers and children's courts, and by forbidding their commitment in the common gaols.

The Old Age Pensions Act (1908) which was amended in 1911 provided a pension for every person who attained seventy years of age and had been for twenty years previous a British subject, and whose annual income did not exceed thirty-one pounds ten shillings. The pension varies in amount but may be as much as five shillings per week. The receipt of it does not deprive the recipient of any franchise right. The benefits of the law are de-

nied to such persons as have been habitually lazy and unemployed, are in receipt of poor relief, make false statements as to earnings and possessions or deprive themselves of any property or income in order to qualify as pensioners.

The Labor Exchanges Act (1909) dealt with the problem of unemployment. It established offices where registers are kept of employers needing workmen and of laborers seeking employment. Its purpose is to bring together supply and demand in the labor market by collecting all information available from both sides. The Trades Boards Act (1909) dealt with the "sweating" evils such as extremely low wages, excessive hours and unsanitary shops. The drift of population from the rural districts to the cities, the tendency of the weaker classes in cities to become dependent, early marriages, big families, low standards of life, the inefficiency and ignorance of laborers and an excessive supply of unskilled workmen, all tended to create in some trades, such as tailoring and making of nets, laces and paper boxes, conditions that placed thousands of poor men, women and youths at the mercy of greedy and unscrupulous employers. The new law created boards empowered to fix minimum rates of wages and to enforce better conditions in the shops. Rates of wages may be fixed to apply universally to the trade or to any special process or to any special class of workers or to any special area within the trade. The Trade Boards anticipate disputes about wages. They are permanent joint boards composed of representatives of laborers and of representatives of employers. They fix wages from time to time which have the force of law. Each special industry to which the Act applies has its own special trade board. The National Insurance Act (1911)

provided insurance for illness and loss of work. It required all employed manual laborers between sixteen and seventy years of age who earned less than 160 pounds a year to be insured and compelled their employers to contribute part of the insurance funds. The State pays to the fund per week two pence, the employer three, the workmen four. The insurance may be carried in a regular insurance company or in a trade union approved by the State. Besides payment in times of sickness, such aids as medical attention, sanatorium treatment for tubercular cases and maternity benefits for mothers in parturition are given. In 1917 fifteen million workers were insured under the Act and the insurance fund totaled 99,000,000 pounds. In 1911 the State instituted an Unemployment Insurance system to be applied to a few enumerated trades. The employer and wage earner each contributed 2½ pence a week and the State one-third of their combined contribution; and from this fund a man who was really unable to get work would be paid a small amount each week for a specified time. As many as a million and a half labourers are connected with this scheme.³

The Development Act (1909) provided for the Treasury making advances of money to a government department or through the department to an institution, association or company not trading for profits for such purposes as promoting forestry, reclaiming and draining land, constructing and improving roads, and giving instruction in marketing and scientific farming. The Housing Act (1909) was aimed at getting rid of the ills of overcrowded tenements. In 1901 the census commissioners declared that there were as many as 2,667,000 persons living in unsanitary quarters. In some of the industrial centres one-fifth of the people were living in one-room

dwellings and more than half in houses of not more than two rooms. Knowing that unsanitary housing accounted for much of the drunkenness, crime, pauperism, disease and high mortality in these places the government in the interests of decency and the public health determined to tear down the ugly back to back houses of the slums and to build in their stead new, comfortable, well-ventilated tenements; to provide gardens, parks, playgrounds and open sun-lit spaces for the recreation of the people, and to direct the future growth of towns with an eye to health, comfort and beauty as well as to business utility. This policy of government interference with the property of landlords was in spirit and purpose in keeping with several enactments passed in the last decade or two as the fruits in part of the activities of such organizations as the "Commons Prevention Society" formed in 1865 and the "Allotments and Small Holdings Association" formed in 1885. The purposes of these societies have been to save from private enclosure and for public use many open areas about the cities and towns, and to encourage gardening and agricultural thrift among the laboring classes by providing a way by which they may rent on easy terms little patches for trucking or may purchase outright small farms by paying very moderate annual stipends over a number of years. The Small Holdings Act of 1892 made it the duty of each County Council, when the demand for small farms seemed to justify it, to secure (but not by compulsory purchase) suitable land, to fence, drain, and in general improve it and then lease or sell it to parties that would themselves cultivate it. The purchaser had to pay one-fifth of the price in cash; ⁴ he might leave one-fourth as perpetual ground rent and he could repay the remainder in half yearly instalments during a period not

longer than fifty years. By the allotment laws of 1882, 1887, 1890 and 1894 it was made the duty of the local government through the parish councils to provide sufficient allotments varying from one-quarter of an acre to an acre in size for the poorer working-class families who desired them even if the land could be secured only through compulsory purchase. The growth in the number of such allotments has been rapid and continuous. In 1895 they numbered 579,133. By the Commons Law Amendment Act of 1893 the community's interest in the Common has been placed above the freedom of action and private advantage of the lord of the manor. "Village greens, roadside wastes and open spaces" that have been long used for pasturage or cutting turf or recreation by the people are no longer allowed to be fenced off as gentlemen's private parks and game preserves.

Several measures of social reconstruction proposed by the Liberals were staunchly and successfully opposed by the Conservatives. The latter was thoroughly entrenched in the House of Lords, an aristocratic body well representing the landed interests. In spite of the overwhelming popular majority of the Liberals in the House of Commons the Conservatives by means of the Peers defeated the ministry's proposal for abolishing plural voting, for having a general land valuation, for placing heavy license duties on public-houses and for a revision of the educational system. The Conservatives declared the intention of the Educational Bill of 1906 advocated by the Non-Conformists was to establish a purely secular system: and they were able to defeat the bill on the grounds that it was against the interest of religion and of the Established Church. The License Bill of 1908, a temperance and social reform measure, was opposed on

the grounds that it was confiscatory in principle and was class legislation. To forbid plural voting was a "dangerous novelty"; the land proposals were "against vested rights"; and the new taxing schemes were nothing less than revolutionary. But the world war that opened in 1914 brought into being laws containing the substance of nearly all these rejected measures.

The big clash between the Conservatives and the Lords on the one hand and the Liberals and Commons on the other occurred over the new and far-reaching proposals of Mr. Lloyd George's famous Budget of 1909. The Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to claim for the State a share of the unearned increment in land values, to tax at different rates income that was earned and income that was unearned, to tax undeveloped property and to differentiate in treatment acquired wealth according as it had rendered service or "disservice" to society. Large revenues were needed to carry out the new costly social reforms, such as the expensive system of national insurance adopted; and to cover the increasing financial burdens for naval construction and maintenance of Empire made necessary by the militaristic and colonial plans projected by the Conservatives when in power. The proposals of the Chancellor were directed straight at the property of the rich. He suggested placing a twenty per cent tax on unearned increment on land payable on its sale or transfer; a special tax on the owners of mineral lands who exacted royalties; a heavy graduated income tax, with a super-tax on incomes over 5,000 pounds and with a heavier tax on earned than on unearned incomes; high license taxes, a heavy tax on automobiles and motor cycles and inheritance taxes on a new scale. On estates over 1,000,000 pounds the inheritance tax was to be as

high as fifteen per cent. To defend England and to rid her of the curse of poverty was declared by Mr. George to be the purposes of his bill. Concluding his Budget speech in the Commons (April 29, 1909) he said "This . . . is a War Budget. It is for raising money to wage implacable warfare against poverty and squalidness. I cannot help hoping and believing that before this generation has passed away we shall have advanced a great step towards that good time when poverty and wretchedness and human degradation which always follow in its camp will be as remote to the people of this country as the wolves which once infested its forests." Supporting the proposal Mr. Winston Churchill, Secretary of State of the Home Department, declared "The tax gatherer is now to ask not only how much property a man has, but also how did he get it? He asks 'Did you earn it by yourself or has it been left to you by others? Was it gained by processes which are in themselves beneficial to the community in general, or was it gained by processes which have done no good to anyone, but harm? Was it gained by the enterprise and capacity necessary to found a business, or merely by squeezing and bleeding the owner and founder of the business? Was it gained by supplying the capital which industry needs, or by denying, except at extortionate price, the land which industry requires?' How did you get it? That is the new question which has been postulated, and which is vibrating in penetrating repetition through the land?"

Opposing the Budget were the landlord class, the real estate interests, the tobacco trade, the motor industry and a host of brewers, distillers, bankers and capitalists. The Lords declared it would destroy the credit of England, "the bank and the workshop of the world." It

would destroy the sanctity of property and confidence in England's financial prudence, equity, stability and strength. After long debate the Budget was passed in the House of Commons, having received a handsome majority, but in the House of Lords it was defeated by an adverse vote of 350 to 75. This throwing out by the Peers of a money bill of the Commons planned to provide for the services of the year was declared in the Lower House to be "a breach of the Constitution and a usurpation of the rights of the House of Commons." Parliament was dissolved and an appeal made to the country.

In the election campaign that followed there was about as much discussion concerning mending or ending the House of Lords as concerning the merits or demerits of the Budget. The Socialists, Radicals and Irish were ready to abolish the Upper Chamber, stigmatized as the "one stagnant and unprogressive branch of the legislature." The constitution of a legislative body on the hereditary principle was declared "illogical and incompatible with free institutions." It was urged that favoritism, or wealth, or political influence, or naval and military service, rather than eminent legislative ability was frequently the determining factor in appointments to the peerage, that "honors rather than duties are emphasized" and that it was a mistake to allow a title of honor to carry with it the right of making a nation's laws. It was declared that the representation of an assembly whose members numbering about 600 owned one-third of the cultivated and over one-fourth of all the land of England (on an average of 38,672 acres for each peer) was decidedly one-sided and unfair. It gave too much weight to the landed aristocracy and too little to the commercial, manufacturing and industrial interests

of the country. The Chamber was criticized as "out of touch with the people." The hereditary principle was constantly ridiculed. "We allow babies to be ear-marked in their cradles as future law-makers, utterly regardless as to whether they turn out to be statesmen, or fools, or rogues." ⁵

The Liberal Party did not agree with the Radicals in believing that the House of Lords should be abolished but they were opposed to its vetoing vital laws passed by the Commons and were determined to abridge or restrict its power. They did not desire single chamber government, believing it beneficial to have the Upper Chamber exercising powers of delay and suggestion of amendment; but they were resolved to destroy forever the Lord's veto power over the money bills of the Commons and over other public bills that were clearly the desire of the people. In the election (January, 1910) the Liberals won though they lost almost a hundred seats. The Budget was again presented and the Lords this time yielded its passage.

In the spring of 1910 occurred the death of the sovereign, Edward VII, who was succeeded by his son George V. This occasioned a sort of truce between the Conservatives and Liberals for a few months but with the assembling of Parliament the fight was again renewed. In November a dead-lock occurred that caused another appeal to the country. In this second election (December, 1910) the Liberals made slight gains and now felt strong enough to press for restricting the power of the Lords. The main provision of Mr. Asquith's Parliamentary Bill read: "If any money Bill, having been passed by the House of Commons, and sent up to the House of Lords at least one month before the end of the session, is not

passed by the House of Lords without amendment within one month after it is sent up to the House, the Bill shall, unless the House of Commons direct to the contrary, be presented to His Majesty and become an Act of Parliament on the Royal assent being signified, notwithstanding that the House of Lords have not consented to the Bill.

"If any Public Bill (other than Money Bill or a Bill containing any provision to extend the maximum duration of Parliament beyond five years) is passed by the House of Commons in three successive sessions (whether of the same Parliament or not) and, having been sent up to the House of Lords at least one month before the end of the session, is rejected by the House of Lords in each of these sessions, that Bill shall, unless the House of Commons direct to the contrary, be presented to His Majesty and become an Act of Parliament on the Royal Assent being signified thereto, notwithstanding that the House of Lords have not consented to the Bill. Provided that this provision shall not take effect unless two years have elapsed between the date of the second reading in the first of these sessions of the Bill in the House of Commons and the date on which it passes the House of Commons in the third of these sessions," etc., etc.

The Bill was stoutly resisted by the Lords. They claimed that it practically set up single-chamber government; that the advantages of the period of delay provided in the Bill were illusory; that the suggestions of the weakened Upper House would be treated with contempt by the all-powerful Lower House; that the supporters of the Bill did not realize what a revolutionary thing they were proposing; that they had brought in the Bill with

the "trivial elegance with which they introduced a turn-pike Act"; and seemed to regard "The House of Lords as simply a culprit to be hanged without shift and without repentance." In the minds of the Liberals the Bill was a "strictly true constitutional proposition" since to give this increased authority to the Commons simply meant to acknowledge the supremacy of the people in law-making; and when their leader Mr. Asquith made known the fact that the king was with them in the contest and ready if necessary to create enough new peers to insure its passage they were able to force the unwilling assent of the Lords. To have allowed some hundred or so peers to be created solely to pass the measure would have made, as the Archbishop of Canterbury thought, the House and the country "a laughing stock in the Dominions and in foreign countries." In August, 1911, the Bill became law.

Unpopular with the Conservatives and Lords also was the Act of the Liberal Government that gave members of parliament salaries of 400 pounds a year, which was passed shortly after the Parliament Act. The measure was pleasing to the Laborites and the democracy generally since it made possible the entry into parliamentary service of a large number of more capable and desirable men whose means were limited and saved political and industrial organizations the burden of supporting out of their funds some of their representatives in the Commons. Opponents of the Act had argued that paid members of Parliament would become mere "delegates of their constituents rather than free representatives, and suffer loss of moral authority"; that paying members salaries would result in bringing to the halls of Westminster the professional politician and agitator; that the rate of pay would

be increased until it became a heavy burden on the tax payer and that it would lead to claims for payment for many services formerly rendered gratuitously in both national and local governments.

In 1912 Mr. Asquith introduced his Home Rule Bill. It provided for a parliament in Ireland, consisting of a senate of 40 members and a house of commons of 164 members. Ulster, the Northern Province of 11 counties, was to have 59 members. The Irish Parliament could not make any law to establish or endow any religion or prohibit the free exercise thereof or give any privilege or impose any disability on account of religious belief. It could not legislate on peace or war, the navy, army, foreign relations, trade outside Ireland, coinage or legal tender. The executive was to remain vested in the sovereign or his representative, and 42 members from Ireland were to be elected to the British House of Commons. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was to have power to pass on the constitutionality of any act of the Irish Parliament. The Irish Exchequer was to bear in main the expenses of the Irish administration. The Imperial Exchequer was to pay a permanent annual sum to the Irish Exchequer of 200,000 pounds. The first year it would pay a sum of 500,000 pounds.

The measure met with staunch and bitter opposition from the Conservatives and Unionists of England and from the prosperous Protestant minority of Ulsterites. Ulster returned 17 Home Rulers and 16 anti-Home Rulers. Nearly half of the best of Ulster has a population purely Scotch and English, a people thrifty, matter of fact, and different from the Irish in language, temperament, history and religion. This alien minority prefers English to Irish rule. Energetic and enterprising it

has built up many great industries and commercial undertakings, and it believes that there is nothing to gain and much to lose by having themselves, their business and property placed at the mercy of an Irish parliament. Between the Catholic Celts of Ireland and the Protestant colonizers of Ulster has long existed a bitter animosity; and the latter were unwilling to have their laws and taxes determined by a parliament in which the former had an overwhelming majority. These Englishmen of Ulster, numbering about one and a half millions declared that England could not honorably remove them from the protection of the British Parliament; that as Englishmen they had a right to English government; and that before they would submit to be subjected to the rule of Irishmen they would go to war. They had the sympathy of the Conservatives and Unionists, who opposed Home Rule on the grounds that the concession of a parliament given in the Bill would be regarded by the Irish as a mere installment of their right; that it was a step toward establishing a hostile nation on England's flank; that Ireland was close at hand and could be best governed from London; that agrarian troubles had been at the bottom of Irish discontent and that these were being removed through better land laws and the government's policy of furnishing to the agricultural and industrial interests of the country financial aid and the directing skill of experts.

The friends of Home Rule on the other hand affirmed that Ireland possessed a distinct nationality and had therefore a right to govern herself; that Ireland did not desire separation from England, but did seek the repeal of the Act of Union, which was never consented to and which had resulted in an unpopular, inefficient and extravagant

system of government; that progress in the material and intellectual life of the people would follow from the exercise of self-government; that England would make Ireland friendly by making her free; and that the Ulster Unionist minority exaggerated their importance when magnifying their claims above the just demand of a whole nation; and that they had no reason to expect unfair treatment by the Nationalists in a native parliament since in matters of local government they had been justly dealt with.

After two years of struggle, thanks to the Parliamentary Act of 1911, that thwarted the veto power of the House of Lords, the Home Rulers won. The Bill was passed for the third time by the House of Commons in May, 1914, and was signed by the King and placed on the statute book the next September. But owing to the unwillingness of Ulster to be included within the provisions of the Act, its opposition under the leadership of Sir Edward Carson taking the militant form of raising and drilling a volunteer army of 100,000, operation of the Act was repeatedly suspended; and finally by reason of the fight with Germany was postponed to the end of the War. When this closed the situation in Ireland was so changed that Lloyd George, who was now at the head of the government, had eventually to work out an entirely new Act.

A measure of the Liberal Government that was very popular with the Non-Conformists was the Welsh Disestablishment and Disendowment Bill. According to the report of the Royal Commission appointed in 1906 to get the facts in the case the Church of England had in Wales about 193,081 communicants while the Non-Conformist bodies had about 550,280 members. The Church of Eng-

land was the largest religious body in Wales and had prospered and grown in recent years. Between the years 1899-1908 the number of persons confirmed averaged 11,584 as against 10,178 for the previous ten years. The Church in Wales was not a separate organization from the Church of England but a constituent and old part of it for the "Welsh dioceses were sending their proctors to the Canterbury Houses of Convocation more than two and a half centuries before the Welsh counties were sending their representatives to the English Parliament." ⁶ Between the Church in Wales and the rest of the Church of England existed full "ecclesiastical, constitutional, legal, and historical identity." The gross income of the Welsh dioceses in 1906 was 556,000 pounds, of which amount 296,000 representing voluntary contributions would be unaffected by the bill; but of the remaining 260,000 derived from endowments 175,000 represented national property, so the Liberals declared, and this amount the Bill would take away. The Conservatives and Churchmen denounced the proposal as confiscation pure and simple. They denounced as spurious and false the Liberals' secular argument that the State should have nothing whatever to do with religion; and claimed that those who favored disestablishment of the Church in Wales were working also toward disestablishment of the Church in England. Those favoring the Bill argued that an established church occupied an unfair, privileged position; that its clergy enjoyed a monopoly of public ecclesiastical appointments and that its Bishops alone of religious leaders had seats in a House of Parliament; that establishment was prejudicial to national unity; that establishment allowed Parliament a secular body to legislate in church matters; that disestablishment in Ireland,

the British Dominions and in America had proved beneficial; that disestablishment in Wales had been demanded repeatedly by a majority of its inhabitants and that the Church in Wales was "alien" in its character and represented a mere minority of its people. The trend of the times was with the Liberals. In 1913 the Bill in slightly modified form passed the Commons for the second time with a good normal majority. By the Lords it was vetoed by a vote of 242 to 88. But in 1914 the disestablishment act was passed.

Other political problems that commanded considerable attention in England during Asquith's ministry before the Great War opened were tariff reform, extension of the franchise, woman suffrage and armament. England's low revenue tariff, collected on tobacco, tea, spirits, wine and sugar, did not satisfy the tariff reformers. They complained that foreign nations had thrived on protection, building up their industries and manufactures by enjoying the double advantage of having an uninvaded home market and of having a dumping ground for their surplus products in free trade England. They proposed to regulate foreign imports so that the maximum of employment might be given to British hands in supplying the British nation with its wants; to have Great Britain negotiate treaties of reciprocity with other states, yielding the British home and colonial markets only for advantageous concessions in their possessions; and to establish between England and its colonies and India a permanent policy of Imperial preference in trade. The reformers realized that since England was dependent on other countries for her food-supply the changes they advocated would involve enhancing the price of the necessities of

life for the English people, but they argued that this disadvantage would be more than offset by the advantages that would result from more constant employment, increased wages, and the general growing prosperity of a manufacturing nation. But the cause of tariff reform did not strengthen before 1914. Taxed food and restricted trade were not popular with the consumers and shippers.

The woman suffrage and extension of franchise questions were conspicuously in evidence in 1912. The women of England had had experience in the government of their schools since 1870, being then allowed to sit as members on the school boards, and had exercised the franchise in many other local government matters since 1888 and 1894. They sought now the parliamentary vote and offered no end of reasons in their favor. They said they should have the ballot because women held large stakes in the country, paid taxes and had distinct interests; because women were intellectually as capable as men and had shown their political capacity by good work on local and municipal councils and by acting as canvassers and speakers to assist men in political campaigns; because about seventy town councils had passed resolutions in favor of woman suffrage; because the enfranchisement of women in New Zealand and Australia had been beneficial and because in Finland, Norway, Sweden, and several of the states of the United States women had been given the vote on the same terms as men. The opponents of the movement declared that the safety of the state would be imperilled by having questions of peace and war decided by those who did not bear arms; that women outnumbering men in England would control the government; that the parliamentary vote would result in placing women in

Parliament, in the Cabinet and in the judiciary which would be unwise; that the vote was not wanted by a great proportion of the women of England.

The movement was but one phase of a world-wide progress making on the part of women due to a new economic freedom gained in the Industrial Revolution and to the strength and knowledge acquired through enjoying the same educational advantages as men. In the summer of 1910 a Woman Suffrage Bill giving to women the franchise on practically the same terms as for men passed its second reading in the House of Commons but was then killed in committee of the whole. To conciliate modern opinion the advocates of the proposal tried to pass a measure conferring the ballot only on the propertied classes of women but the proposition was not supported by the Liberal Government. The proposed reform was opposed as not democratic in spirit. The Prime Minister announced his intention of introducing a straight manhood suffrage bill and of giving the friends of woman suffrage the chance to amend it in their interest. This spelled defeat for the women, for they knew that without the support of the Premier and Cabinet they would carry through no desirable amendment, and they were not agreed among themselves as to the wisdom and desirability of having general adult suffrage which meant to confer the vote on five or six million women, of whom many didn't want it and many more were wholly unprepared for it.⁷ The suffragists expected better things of the Liberal Government and declared they had been deceived by the fair words of the Prime Minister. Disappointed and, as they asserted, ignored and dishonorably treated they resorted to militant tactics and demonstra-

tions of violence in the hope of forcing the Government to heed their demands. They smashed windows, destroyed beautiful paintings, blew up palaces, ruined the mail in the letter boxes, interfered in the Derby throwing to the ground the king's horse, fired vacant buildings, destroyed railway coaches, raided the House of Commons, forced their way into the houses of Cabinet officers, fought the police, placed bombs in churches, wrecked golf links, defied the courts, and when sent to jail for their crimes dared the "hunger-strike" attempting to starve themselves as martyrs to the cause. In some cases forcible feeding broke the "hunger strike" but in others it failed. Mr. McKenna, the Home Secretary, thought he had solved the problem when his prisoners' bill was passed allowing him to reincarcerate prisoners who had been released after self-imposed starvation. Under this "cat and mouse act" Mrs. Pankhurst and the leading suffragists were repeatedly arrested, released and re-arrested, seemingly without effect upon their ardor. The suffragists made war only on property but they threatened to take life also if their cause was not fairly considered. They were thoroughly organized, had strong financial backing and could claim able supporters in both of the chief political parties as well as among the Laborites and Socialists. Their threats did not advance their interests but their loyal, useful services and noble-spirited sacrifices during the war did. In the Franchise Bill of 1918 they won.

In view of what later occurred in 1914, the warnings concerning the necessity of increased armament spoken of in 1912 by men of vision are of interest as well as the way in which England received them. "Few thinking men

can doubt,' said Sir J. D. Rees, "that collision is sooner or later inevitable between Great Britain, which claims, and at present possesses, dominion of the seas, and the German Empire, the redundant population of which is shut out by our navy from all the most desirable parts of the earth. The ultimate struggle is as inevitable as was that between Spain and Britain, or that between Germany and France." Germany was believed to have the ambition to acquire Holland and Belgium. If this gain were had the nation would be in a position to seriously injure England's sea-power. Germany steadily enlarged expenditure on new naval construction between the years 1905 and 1911 and this increase in building large armoured cruisers, battle-ships and dreadnaughts meant attack on England and necessitated a stronger defense. It was urged that England should be prepared to meet an invasion of 70,000 men and that the military establishment should be raised from 312,000 to 800,000. England's naval reserve of some 55,000 was declared to be insufficient. The substitution of the German compulsory for the English voluntary principle of military service was urged which would have involved an additional cost of about four millions.

But the English as a nation were not convinced of the necessity of carrying heavier military burdens. Supporting a navy about equal to that of both Germany and the United States, they saw no reason for maintaining a big expensive army establishment at home. They opposed compulsory service on the grounds that it was inconsistent with the liberty of the subject and that it hurt business. They claimed that costly preparations for war promoted war and as peace lovers urged arbitration as the proper

method of settling international disputes. Such facts reveal that England was surely not the aggressor in opening the Great War.

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CHAPTER XVI

CAUSES OF THE WORLD WAR

Toward the close of the summer of 1914 suddenly broke out the Great European War. To account for the outbreak numerous features of the condition of Europe must be considered. The immediate occasion of the conflict was the assassination by a band of conspirators of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, successor to the Austro-Hungarian throne, and his consort on June 28, 1914, while they were paying a visit to Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia, an Austrian province that adjoins Servia. An investigation of the crime by a judicial commission of the Austria-Hungary government, which inquiry however was conducted in secret and on Bosnian territory, led that government to the belief that the murder of Archduke Ferdinand had been systematically planned, possibly with the cognizance of the Servian governmental authorities. Ferdinand was much hated in Servia because he was a pronounced and powerful exponent of Austro-Hungarian unity and strength, while the Servians were in sympathy with the revolutionary organization active in the Southern provinces of Austria which sought to win for some of the Slav districts independence of Austria and possibly incorporation with Servia. That the murder of an Austrian prince should have turned quickly the whole of Europe into a field of war cannot be understood until one takes into account the racial differences, the groupings and alliances and the cross purposes of the leading European nations.

Within the Southeastern section of Europe about Austria and the Balkans were and are various races and remnants of races that have been fighting one another in invasions and counter-invasions of territory since the barbarian hordes first proceeded forth from the Arian plains of Asia. There has been hatred and conflict between Roman and Teuton; between Teuton and Slav; Slav and Hungarian; Hungarian and Austrian; German and Bohemian; Greek and Bulgarian; Servian and Austrian; and between Turk and French and Russian. There have been conflicts between Moslems and Christians; Roman Christians and Greek Christians; Jews and Gentiles; Protestants and Catholics; between all sorts of "believers" and "infidels." In this quarter of Europe political boundaries cut across ancient persistent divisions of race, language and religion. Uprisings have been frequent and states are in the making.

Since 1683 when a Turkish army besieged Vienna—the highwater mark of Turkish conquest in Europe—there has been a steady decline in Ottoman supremacy attended by losses of territory and the rise of new states. In 1699 Hungary broke away from Turkish rule; in 1833 Greece; in 1703 Montenegro; in 1856 Roumania; in 1830 Servia; in 1878 Bulgaria. In 1774 Russia got land on the Black Sea, and in 1792 advanced to the Dniester River, and to the Pruth River in 1812. In 1881 England took Egypt and in 1908 Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 1881 France got Tunis and in 1911 Morocco. In 1912 Italy took Tripoli and as a result of the First and Second Balkan Wars (1912-1913) the Balkan States divided among themselves all of European Turkey except Constantinople and a small territory adjoining it on the north. For some years previous

to 1914 Germany had been getting control in Turkey, furnishing officers to train its army and capital for its business enterprises.

Germany planned the extension of German influence and control through the Balkans to the Ægean and through Asia Minor to the rich plains of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers. The Pan-Germanists sought unrestricted trade-routes in these lands for their surplus manufactures. They coveted also control of the harbors of Belgium and Holland. They sought through enlarging their navy to challenge England's supremacy on the seas, and they intended to win a colonial empire to care for their rapidly expanding population. They would build a great confederation of states including Germany, Austria, Hungary, the Balkan States and Turkey; and would construct a grand railway from Constantinople to Bagdad which would tie the great trunk lines leading from the Rhine and Danube valleys to Constantinople and the Persian Gulf, thus establishing a short route to India. The aims of Germany were seconded by Austria. Russia wanted the Balkans too and Constantinople and free access to the Mediterranean through control of the Black Sea, the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. She coveted also an outlet to the open sea on the northwest through the Scandinavian peninsula and some part of Eastern Prussia with its Baltic seacoast. England was opposed to the establishment of either a German or a Russian authority at Constantinople, lest she should lose her Mediterranean supremacy and her hold on India. She had a dominion that included about 25 per cent of the habitable land of the globe and over 27 per cent of its population. If the Pan-Germanists' dream of naval supremacy and colonial empire ever came true the Briton knew it must be at Eng-

land's expense. France in gaining Morocco in 1911 had almost come to arms with Germany. And since the Franco-Prussian War in 1870-71 the French had talked of a future war of revenge when they should recover their lost provinces, Alsace and Lorraine. As to Serbia, its size had been almost doubled by the first (1912) and second (1913) Balkan wars at the expense of Turkey and Bulgaria. A part of this added territory came from a strip of land, the Sanjak of Novibazar, which before the recent Balkan wars was a Turkish possession running up between Serbia and Montenegro to Austria. The latter state, encouraged too by its ally Germany, had long hoped to gain that strip, since through it a route might be had to the Ægean and the East for the trade of these two nations; but the dividing of that land between Serbia and Montenegro at the close of the war thwarted Austria in that purpose and placed a solid barrier of Slav domination across the path of German-Austrian ambition.

During the last century three ever present active forces have been felt in European international affairs, the steady pressure as of a slow-moving glacier of Russia to the westward, the colonial expansion of England, and the rise of Prussianized Germany. In 1914 these forces came into open conflict. Then Europe was divided in 1914 into two hostile combinations, heavily armed. The Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente. The former Bismarck's creation, including Germany, Austria and Italy, had been formed (1881) to defend Germany from the attacks of neighbors west and east, France and Russia, both of whom had lost territory to Prussia in earlier conflicts. Italy had joined the Alliance because jealous of French expansion along the northern coast of Africa, and because the young nation was flattered at being welcomed

into the circle of the Great Powers. Her traditional enemy, however, was Austria; and since she coveted the ports of Albania and the Austrian ports of Trieste and Fiume, she was opposed to Austria's Balkan policy of further expansion along the Adriatic. To offset the Triple Alliance there arose (1907) the Triple Entente, an agreement for defense between Russia, England and France developed out of the Dual Alliance between France and Russia (1893), the Entente Cordiale between England and France (1904) and the Anglo-Russian Accord of Great Britain and Russia (1907). Both of these groups, and especially the Continental members of the groups, suspicious and fearful began steadily to increase their armaments. Fortifications were strengthened, strategic military railways constructed, munition factories enlarged, submarines and airships built, rapid fire rifles, machine guns and cannon manufactured and stored in great quantities, plans for military campaigns prepared and information gained through spies of the defenses of the rival powers. In camp and in reserve Germany could muster 4,870,000 trained soldiers and France 3,670,000. These competitive military operations made for war. Twice before 1914 the outbreak almost occurred. In 1911 when France got Morocco against Germany's will and in 1913 when Serbia at the close of the Second Balkan War got increased territory against the will of Austria-Hungary. Had there been no Triple Alliance guaranteeing Germany's aid to Austria, if attacked, the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia might not have been so peremptory and unreasonable; a satisfactory compliance with it might have been possible. Serbia's request for more time for deliberation, or suggestion of settlement by arbitration, might have been agreed to and thus war averted;

or per contra, had there been no Triple Entente, giving assurance of aid from England and France to Russia under certain conditions, Russia might not have stiffened Servia's resistance to Austria, an agreement might have been had and the war averted.

Causative of the war were such forces and factors as the growth of nationalism, the rise of democracy, pressure of population, the birth rate, low in France, high in Germany and Russia, trade rivalries, and imperial programs of colonial and naval expansion. In 1871 Germany's position in business and commerce was relatively low compared with Great Britain's; but by 1905 she was the chief competitor. Between 1875 and 1905 Great Britain's total import and export business increased 49%, Germany's 120%. As to the merchant marine, the increase in tonnage was for Great Britain 76%; for Germany 220%. Germany was set upon building a great colonial empire and determined also to challenge England's sea supremacy. Von Tirpitz's statement in his German naval bill of 1900 was pointed straight at England: "to protect Germany's sea trade and colonies . . . there is only one means: Germany must have a battle fleet so strong that even for an adversary with the greatest sea power, a war against it would involve such dangers as to imperil his own position in the world . . . the German battle fleet should be as strong as the greatest naval Power." A race between the two nations in naval armaments costing many millions followed.

The German character and Kultur were chief factors in producing this war. Proud of their industrial and commercial progress, puffed up with their learning and science, boastful of their educational schemes of specialization and efficiency, unbalanced by reason of victories at arms over

Denmark, Austria and France, unchristian, materialistic, cynical, conceited, worshipping force, glorifying war, and declaring the Teutons superior to all other races and divinely appointed to rule the world their leaders looked forward to and courted battle, and in particular at some time with England. Not only the militarists, but according to a statement of the Kaiser the majority of the German people were hostile to England about 1908. For some years it had been the habit of the German navy to drink a toast "to the Day," which meant in the minds of the naval officers the time when war should be declared against England. By the teachings and writings of prominent University professors and army officers such as Professor Treitschke and General Bernhardt the German nation had been taught to think of war as a good, as a necessity in a nation's proper development, and to believe that Germany's destined expansion would ere long produce conflict with England. In the teachings of the Pan-Germanists, Great Britain was the great "Robber State" that had acquired a fourth of the globe by filching it from weak, uncivilized races; that arrogantly assumed a lordship of all seas; and that had the temerity to undertake to dictate to other Powers the boundaries of their states and dependencies. Her numerous possessions had not been won by her own strength, they said, but had merely fallen to her as the results of timely and selfish interference between other nations. Her wont had been to build up coalitions and alliances against any power of Europe that promised to become dominant, furnishing the allies money who did the fighting. She was always present at the settlement of the conflict, playing the rôle of arbiter in the interest of preserving the balance of power but always to her own advantage and to the injury

of the strongest European nation. So she had dealt with Spain, France, Holland; she now sought to injure Germany. They claimed that England's greatness was in part a gift of Germany; that through Prussia's assistance Great Britain had won victories over Louis XIV and Napoleon; and that but for Prussia's engagement of England's continental enemies Great Britain would not have been able during the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) to oust France from the new world, to win naval supremacy and enlarge her colonial possessions. England's rule over varied peoples was an unrighteous rule, justly hated by the subjects. To them England was a hypocritical, Pharisaical nation, proclaiming its mission to disseminate everywhere ideas of liberty, justice, and democracy yet actually guilty meanwhile of the most criminal acts of suppression, intolerance and tyranny. In support of the charge were cited the revolt of the American colonies, the struggle of the Boers, the treatment of Ireland and the subjugation of India. The British Empire was a pretentious sham; it lacked inherent strength they said. Widely scattered its various portions, divided by oceans, inhabited by diverse races, lacking genuine unity and homogeneity: its members were held together only by the British navy. Were this defensive band once severed the colonies and dependencies would fall away from England like leaves from a withered branch. The English people were spoken of as unvirile and decadent. Snugly ensconced in their island they had lost their martial qualities and could not successfully contend with a strong foe. Their imperial glory would depart as was the case with Rome. The Teutons had overthrown the decadent Empire of the Cæsars in the fifth century, and brought low pretentious Austria and pretentious France in the eigh-

teenth and nineteenth centuries. They would now humble England. Prussia had to fight the smaller German states, Austria and France in order to expand into a mighty nation; and so the German Empire to realize its colonial ambitions would have to fight to a finish with Great Britain, the nation that had already staked off as her own most of the sparsely occupied and undeveloped lands of the earth.

And according to the Teutonic philosophy for the Germans to cease to fight was to cease to live. They said that Germany had more people than it could profitably employ, that the area suitable for tillage had been almost exhausted, as well as the possibilities of increase from the employment of scientific agricultural processes, that industries and manufactures had grown at a rate far in excess of the domestic needs, that more lands and markets had to be had somewhere for her surplus population and manufactured products; that these could only be had at the expense of some other power and that this meant war eventually with England. According to their Religion of Valor he will and should take who can. War had been presented to the German mind as profitable, educative, glorious, as a paying business and one too that developed in men the highest virtues. The territorial accessions, the war indemnities, such as the 5,000,000,000 francs gotten at the conclusion of the Franco-Prussian war, proved that war for Germany had been a gainful occupation. War, they preached, disciplined the spirit of man, elevated him above materialism, gave him vision, and developed endurance, self-sacrifice, courage and like heroic virtues. General Bernhardt proclaimed that "might is right and that right is decided by war." "God will see to it," said Treitschke, Professor of Modern History in the University of Berlin, "that war always recurs

as a drastic medicine for the human race." He taught too that the leadership of the Teuton was a part of the divine order, and that Providence was leading his countrymen straight on to a conflict with the British. The combat would issue, he believed, in the triumph of German culture, "the realization of the German world-vision in all the phases and departments of human life and energy; in religion, poetry, science, art, politics, and social endeavor," the triumph of "truth instead of falsehood in the deepest and gravest preoccupations of the human mind; German sincerity instead of British hypocrisy."¹ But when the looked-for war with England should come the Germans hoped to have it with Great Britain alone—the German army and navy against the British army and navy—and not as it turned out to be Germany against well-nigh the whole of Europe and America. They were not expecting the Canadians, Australians, Irish and Indians to muster as they did to England's aid. They planned to whip France and Russia first and were bitterly disappointed when England interfered. They asserted, though falsely, that England acted treacherously toward Germany, that at the first she talked peace, but all along really planned war, that she only waited until Germany's enemies were numerous and strong enough to make, as she felt, certain Germany's defeat, and then, in keeping with her habit, added her mighty weight of hostility with the hope of utterly crushing Germany. The bitterness of their hatred was reflected in sermon and hymn.*

* "You will we hate with a lasting hate,
We will never forego our hate,
Hate by water and hate by land,
Hate of the head and hate of the hand,
Hate of the hammer and hate of the crown
Hate of seventy millions, choking down,
We love as one, we hate as one,
We have one foe and one alone——"
ENGLAND!²

But the responsibility of the 1914 outbreak cannot be laid at the door of England. Several things so attest: The unpreparedness of her army and the facts—that her Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Sir Edward Grey, urged Serbia to give Austria the fullest satisfaction in case investigation showed Servian officers involved in the Sarajevo crime so as to prevent an Austrian attack that would lead to Russia's coming in to support Serbia; that he proposed that Germany, France, Italy and Great Britain hold a conference to find a way out of the trouble but Germany would not agree to this method of mediation, being unwilling to force Austria into a settlement by arbitration; that he tried to restrain Russia's mobilization in the interest of Serbia; that he held off support to Russia and France after they began war; and that he labored for peace until the neutrality of Belgium was violated, an aggressive act on Germany's part that was contrary to her treaty obligations and that threatened England's life. The German Ambassador to London, Prince Lichnowsky declared, "We encouraged the Austrian Foreign Minister to attack Serbia although German interests were not involved. We rejected the British proposals of mediation—although Serbia had accepted almost the whole of the ultimatum. We sent an ultimatum to Petrograd merely because of the Russian mobilization, . . . and we declared war on Russia although the Czar pledged his word that he would not order a man to march as long as negotiations were pending. In view of the above facts it is no wonder that the whole of the civilized world, outside Germany, places the entire responsibility of the World War upon our shoulders. The Teutons challenging England's sea supremacy met men determined and unafraid."

"Behold," they cry, "she is grown soft and strength-
less,

All her proud memories changed to fear and fret."
Say, thou, who hast watched through ages that are length-
less

Whom have I feared, and when did I forget?

What sons of mine have shunned thy whorls and races?

Have I not reared for thee time and again,

And bid go forth to share thy fierce embraces,

Sea-ducks, sea-wolves, sea-rovers, and sea-men!

Wherefore, O Sea, I standing thus before thee,

Stretch forth my hands unto thy surge and say:

"When they come forth to seek this empire o'er thee,

And I go forth to meet them—on that day

God grant to us the old Armada weather,

The winds that rip, the heavens that stoop and lour—

Not till the Sea and England sink together,

Shall they be masters! Let them boast that hour!' ³

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CHAPTER XVII

ENGLAND'S ENTRANCE INTO AND SHARE IN THE GREAT WAR

ASQUITH 1914-1916, LLOYD GEORGE,
1916-1921

On June 28, 1914, Archduke Ferdinand and his wife were assassinated at Sarajevo, the Capital of Bosnia. On July 23, 1914, the Austrian Government, after investigating the circumstances of the murder, sent to the Servian Government a document declaring "that the murder was conceived at Belgrade, that the murderers received the arms and bombs with which they were equipped from Servian officers and that the transportation of the criminals and their arms to Bosnia was arranged and carried out by leading Servian frontier officials." Ten demands were made of the Servian Government, a reply to which would be expected within forty-eight hours. So dictatorial was the tone of this state communication, so brief was the time allowed for respecting its requirements, and so extreme were its demands, it appeared as an ultimatum to be almost a declaration of war. On July 24, Servia in conjunction with Russia asked Austria for an extension of time for making answer but this request was denied. In her reply of July 25, made ten minutes before the time limit expired, Servia consented to all the conditions and apologies demanded except the specific requirement that Austrian officials should be allowed to participate in the investigation of the crime the Servian

Government was to conduct on Servian soil; a demand that a nation could hardly allow without injury to its independence and dignity. "The Servian reply," said Sir Edward Grey, "involved the greatest humiliation to Servia that I have ever seen a country undergo." But it did not appease Austria. On the 27th the Austrian Government announced that Servia's reply was "filled with the spirit of dishonesty" and that the Servian Government was not trying to put an end to intrigues against the Austria-Hungarian monarchy. This hostile statement aroused Russia whose Government at once notified Austria (July 27th) that it would oppose any invasion of Servia's territory by Austria. Immediately Germany was heard from. In a semi-official statement it made objection to any outside power interfering in the Austria-Servian quarrel. It was really backing Austria. The British Foreign Secretary proposed that an attempt be made to find a way out of the entanglement through the mediation of a Conference of Ambassadors to be held in London, representing France, Italy, Germany and England. The proposal was welcomed by Italy and France but was declined by both Germany and Austria. The latter country would brook no delay and forthwith issued (July 28th) its declaration of war. This at once started the mobilization of the Russian army, the Czar ordering by an imperial ukase all reservists to the colors July 29th. The next day Germany sent to the Russian Government a demand to stop its mobilization, and stated that a reply to its order was expected within twenty-four hours. Germany's threat brought from England forthwith (July 30th) the significant notification that in case a general conflict should occur Great Britain "could not stand aloof and see the balance of power in Europe de-

stroyed." Russia paid no attention to Germany's ultimatum, but continued the rapid mobilization of her army. Germany then issued its declaration of war, August 1st, provoking thereby immediately the general mobilization order of France, Russia's ally. Germany counted on England's keeping out of the conflict. England was asked to remain neutral on the condition that Germany would promise not to attack the northern or western coasts of France nor to molest the maritime commerce of France; but to this England would not agree. Nor would England consent to Germany's entering with her army Belgian territory in order to get at France. The neutrality of Belgium had been guaranteed by the Great Powers, Germany included, by three treaties, the first made in 1831, the second in 1839 and the third in 1870. England's consent to the passage was vainly sought by the pledge that Germany would indemnify Belgium after the war for all losses and would "safeguard the integrity and sovereignty of Belgium." The formal assurance was given that even in case of armed conflict with Belgium Germany would under no pretext whatever annex Belgian territory. But Germany decided to attack France through Belgium, notwithstanding treaty obligations. August 3rd, the German Government sent to Belgium its ultimatum. This led the Belgian and French Governments at once to declare martial law and King Albert of Belgium to telegraph King George of England for diplomatic intervention to safeguard the integrity of Belgium. The next day came an ultimatum from England to Germany demanding that a promise to respect Belgium's neutrality should be given by 12 o'clock that night. The promise was not given and England forthwith issued its declaration of war against Germany August 4th. The

German army then crossed the border and opened fire on Belgian forts. Germany's attack on Liège, Belgium; August 5th, soon "turned all Europe into an armed camp." President Wilson's offer of the good offices of the United States to effect a peaceful settlement availed nothing. August 6th Austria-Hungary declared war on Russia; August 8th Portugal took Great Britain's side; August 9th Serbia declared war against Germany; August 10th France declared war on Austria; and August 13th Austria and Great Britain each declared war on the other. On August 7th the German Government sought to win Italy as the third member of the Triple Alliance to the support of Austria and Germany, but Italy held firm to her neutrality claiming that she was not bound by that Alliance in this instance since Germany and Austria were engaged in an aggressive, not defensive, war. In May, 1915, Italy took the side of the Allies. A few weeks after the opening of hostilities Japan came to England's aid in keeping with the terms of the Anglo-Japanese treaty of 1905. Turkey and Bulgaria sided later with Germany and Austria.

For four years (1914-1918) warfare the fiercest and on the most gigantic scale was waged involving in some way nearly all the nations of the globe. Against the four nations, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria, or against some one of the four war was waged by twenty-six nations. Five more nations, Peru, Bolivia, Santo Domingo and Uruguay, severed diplomatic relations with some member of the German Alliance. Only fifteen of the nations of the earth, and these minor ones, maintained their neutrality, namely Switzerland, Persia, Sweden, Norway, Spain, Netherlands, Paraguay, Salvador, Colombia, Chile, Denmark, Abyssinia, Argentina,

Mexico, and Venezuela; and these all felt the evil effects of the war in various vexing restrictions on their commerce and life. The total casualties of the war were fully 40,000,000 not counting the victims of massacre, deportation, famine and epidemics though such losses are in large degree by-products of the war. In the conflict, there were over 7,600,000 killed, over 6,000,000 permanently disabled and over 12,500,000 less severely wounded. More persons were killed and maimed in this one war probably than in all the battles of mediæval and modern history. About 60,000,000 men were in arms, the Central Powers furnishing over 19,500,000, the Allied and Associated Powers over 39,600,000. Of the 60,000,000 one-eighth were killed and one-tenth were made human wrecks. Thousands upon thousands of women, children and decrepit old men were made dependent, hungry and homeless; billions of dollars' worth of property were ruthlessly destroyed; costly cruisers and hundreds of merchant vessels with their precious cargoes were sent to the bottom of the sea; rich cities were pillaged and burnt; and majestic cathedrals with their precious masterpieces of art and libraries with their treasured original manuscripts and rare volumes were bombarded into heaps of ruin. Using siege guns, torpedo boats, submarines, Zeppelins, airships, dum dum bullets, turpinine, shells that bursting scatter molten metal and poisonous gases, bombs and arrows dropped from balloons and other air craft, the combatants fought in air and water, above and under the earth. The passions of peoples were stirred as never before. The money cost of the war was over \$186,300,000,000. At times the daily cost of supporting the armies was \$60,000,000.

The navy excepted, England was unprepared on enter-

ing the war. The appeals of Lord Roberts in 1913 for universal military service as a defence against the threatening militarism of Germany fell on deaf ears. Labor was against the plan and political parties disfavored the diversion of funds from the navy to the army that such a plan involved. Compulsory service was denounced by the War Minister "as a political and military disaster." The country was satisfied with its voluntary Territorial Force for Home defence of 263,000. Public sentiment was divided as to England's duty when the conflict started on the continent. Leading Liberals and Radicals and such journals as the *Daily News* vigorously advocated neutrality. Lord Morley and Mr. Burns, Cabinet members, resigned when England entered the war. About the country too were pacifists, conscientious objectors and non-militant socialists of varied degree. But the great bulk of the people felt that Russia and France should be supported by England. The great majority of the Laborites and Liberals, the Unionists, the Ulsterites and Irish Nationalists all backed the Government in its declaration of war. As the fight progressed, and the atrocious, brutal nature of German warfare, as conducted in Belgium, became known, and the immensity of Germany's military preparation and plans were revealed, all classes and parties saw that England was in the right, sank their differences, postponed their political disputes and presented a solid front to the foe. "Britain would not sheathe the sword," said Premier Asquith, "until Belgium had recovered all and more than all that she had sacrificed, until France was adequately secured against the menace of aggression, until the rights of the smaller nationalities were placed on an unassailable foundation, until the military dominion of Prussia was fully and

finally destroyed." "We are fighting for a worthy purpose," declared King George, "for treaty obligations . . . for the protection of the public law of Europe." "Duty," "Patriotism," "Sacrifice" became the national watchwords, and so devoted became popular spirit that universal conscription was cheerfully supported.

Energetic conduct of the war necessitated Cabinet changes. Premier Asquith formed a Coalition Ministry, bringing in eight Unionists and one Laborite in his Cabinet of twenty-two, set up also a special War-Committee of six ministers of which he was chairman and added a half hundred other committees in charge of various war matters. Lloyd George, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was transferred to the new department, Ministry of Munitions, and becoming dissatisfied with Asquith's dilatory "wait and see" policy and seeing the necessity of speeding up the military preparations if the war was to be won he dared to propose a radical change in organization. He demanded that absolute control of the conduct of the war should be put into the hands of a committee of four of which he was a member which should have daily sessions. Mr. Asquith was to be only "an advisory and consultative member." As the Prime Minister would not agree to thus "efface himself" Lloyd George resigned December 5, 1916, and as the Premier was conscious that he could not carry on the war without this Minister of Munitions he resigned. The King sent for the Unionist leader, Mr. Bonar Law, but as Mr. Asquith refused to cooperate with him as Chief and he knew the hour and nation demanded the Welsh statesman he stood aside and the commission went to Lloyd George.

Wonderful the career of this British Chieftain. He

was born in Manchester, January 17, 1863, his father a school teacher sprung from the farming people of South Wales. David at the age of three witnessed the sale at auction of his widowed mother's household effects. The widow and her two children were to have their home now with her brother, Richard Lloyd, a shoemaker and a Non-Conformist at Llanystumdy, a village of North Wales. The uncle instructed the boy, struggling himself over the elements of French and Latin that he might teach the apt pupil. He spent his year's savings to give him a legal education. When at twenty-one David had passed his examinations and was now a solicitor he had not three guineas with which to buy the solicitor's official robe. He quickly earned it at desk work. Courage, ambition and vision belong to this man. As a boy of twelve he defied the teacher and minister who tried to make him say the creed in church. When the Rector refused permission to bury an old Non-Conformist in the church yard by the side of his daughter's grave, the young solicitor counseled his clients to tear down the railings, go in and inter the remains by force if necessary. The case having been taken to court and appealed until it reached the final tribunal, the decision of the Lord Chief Justice declared the young solicitor right in law. Interesting this abstract from his diary when at the age of seventeen on a trip to London he saw for the first time the House of Commons: "Went to Houses of Parliament. Very much disappointed with them. . . . I will say I eyed the assembly in the spirit in which William the Conqueror eyed England on his visit to Edward the Confessor—as the reign of his future domain. O Vanity!" Before thirty he was a member of this body, at forty he was a Cabinet Minister, at forty-five he be-

came Chancellor of the Exchequer and at fifty-five Prime Minister.

Whether as Minister of Munitions or as Chief of the government Lloyd George ever speeded up the war machinery, declaring "unless we quicken our movement, damnation will fall on the sacred cause for which so much gallant blood has flowed." He created his War Cabinet of five, composed of himself a Liberal, and of three Unionists and one Laborite. General Smuts of South Africa was later admitted to this inner council. The Unionist chief, Bonar Law, was made Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons. New departments for control of shipping, of food, labor, pensioning, enforcement of the blockade, public service and the like were multiplied until the ministry numbered eighty-eight. New administrative committees with special activities were set up by the hundreds. By several new Military Service Bills, compulsion to serve was imposed eventually on all men physically fit and not exempted on account of occupation in essential industries from eighteen to fifty years of age. Railroads canals, mines, ship yards and munition factories were taken over by the government and regulation of prices, wages and output in manufactures and of the uses to which land may be put in agriculture was undertaken by the state. Rationing and price-fixing of food staples followed. In every department of economic life, whether production, manufacture, exchange, transportation, means of communication or conscription military needs were given priority over civilian. Trade Unions were led to promise no strikes during the war and their restricted rules concerning skilled labor were modified in the interests of increase of products so that by a process of so-

called "Dilution" unskilled workers and women were allowed to do tasks or parts of tasks which had been forbidden them formerly but for which they were after a little training quite well fitted. Profits and speculation were restricted and the liquor trade was limited by special acts. The hours of sale were curtailed, treating and credit forbidden and the sale of spirits of excessive strengths was prohibited. Temperance was promoted too by providing facilities for non-alcoholic refreshments. By income taxes, graduated super-taxes and excess profits taxes as high as 70 per cent and over the annual revenues of the government were quadrupled, yet the expenditures were on such a tremendous scale the national debt was increased ten-fold. Great Britain was taking the fourth part of every well-to-do citizen's income and spent some years \$300,000,000 on the army, \$100,000,000 on the navy, and \$2,000,000,000 in the work of the munition department. In the munition factories were employed soon 2,000,000 workers, one-tenth of whom were women, many working at times twelve hours a day seven days in the week. The annual output of munitions of every sort—rifles, cartridges, machine guns, howitzers—multiplied thirty-fold. By the early spring of 1916 an army of 4,000,000 men had been raised, and among them were the very flower of British youth, sons of the nobility and of the professional, literary and University classes. Dotting the country were rude recruiting stations and training camps. At docks, store houses and depots and railroad sidings were armies of laborers busy handling rations, fuel, horses, fodder and all sorts of army supplies. Recreation huts, cinema theatres, lecture courses, schools for training motor drivers, hospitals for animals and for men, can-

teen stations, religious services, railroads, warehouses miles long for the supply bases all had to be provided. Drilling, marching and counter-marching everywhere, "tramp, tramp, along the land; tramp, tramp, along the sea." "An endless spectacle of gun-carriages, naval turrets, torpedo-tubes, army railway-carriages, small Hotchkiss guns for merchant ships, seems to be going on forever, and in the tool-making shops the output has risen from forty-four thousand to three million a year." ¹

England may well be proud of her part in this conflict. She did all that could be done to prevent war; she entered to maintain her word of honor, and once in she bent all her powers to the task, determined to win. As to men, arms and money, Great Britain furnished 8,654,467 men, over a fifth of the mobilized forces of the Allied and Associated Powers. Of these, 5,704,416 came from Great Britain and Ireland; 640,886 from Canada; 416,809 from Australia; 220,099 from New Zealand; 136,070 from South Africa; 1,401,350 from India and 134,837 from the other colonies. ² Their casualties all told—wounded, missing and killed—were 3,060,616. Some 850,000 were killed. The British furnished about one-fifth of the money expended. Their war debt is about \$35,000,000,000, of which roughly speaking a fifth was loaned to the Allies. About \$750,000,000 was loaned to the Dominions. As to the fighting the British were in the thick of it from start to finish. While a few costly mistakes were made at the first and defeats were not uncommon in the earlier engagements none the less their naval and military record on the whole was noble and superb.

Unaware of the magnitude of the enemy's forces and of the gigantic scale on which warfare was to be con-

ducted the British were slow in making adequate preparations. The six divisions of regulars, 60,000 sent to Belgium, were not equal to holding back the horde of German soldiers with their cavalry and armored motor cars, heavy cannon and siege guns moving on with the momentum of an avalanche. After a hot contest at Mons (August 23-24, 1914) General French had to withdraw. The battle and the six days' retreat back into France cost the British 230 officers and 13,413 men. Mismanagement by the governmental heads in London and lack of men and equipment caused the loss of Antwerp to the Germans and explains why the British failed to extend their battle lines northward promptly. The Germans hurried to try to win the Channel Ports, Calais and Dunkirk and thus cut off England from the most direct communication with France. The bloody battles of Flanders followed (October 17-November 15) and the fearful losses at Ypres and along the Yser. The combined forces of Belgians, French and British under the command of General Foch, numbering only 150,000—some of the troops raw and untried with inadequate equipment, lacking shells and heavy artillery—successfully withstood the repeated attacks of half a million thoroughly trained German soldiers provided with the finest machine guns and cannon. On the coast the Belgians checked the enemy's advance by cutting the dikes of the Yser and flooding the lowlands. At Ypres the British had to fight against terrible odds and were nearly annihilated. The German's effort cost them the loss of 150,000 men.

The Gallipoli Campaign was most disastrous. Turkey having taken the side of Germany and Austria, Russia was cut off from getting food and war supplies from her western Allies. Could the Dardanelles be forced and

Constantinople taken by the Allies it would end the Pan-German dream of control in the Balkans and Asia Minor. In February, 1915, the French and British warships made attack, losing two ships and gaining entrance to the straits. Another bombardment the next day might have succeeded since the Turks' ammunition was about out; but those attacking were unaware of the fact: and since the rapid current, floating mines, and hidden guns of the fortifications were feared, they withdrew. In April the British sent an expedition of 200,000 men, mainly Australian and New Zealand forces, to assist in the attack. The plan was known to the Germans and a force of 250,000 well-armed Turks under German officers was gathered for defence. The invaders were landed on the peninsula but the barbed wire entanglements, the steep rocky hills, the lack of water, the scorching July heat and the resistance of the Turks, along with the submarine attacks on the supporting gunboats brought the heroic effort to naught.

In December the forces were withdrawn. In this inglorious campaign the toll of British dead was 26,000 and the disabled and broken in health numbered 89,000. Bulgaria judged from the outcome that it was to her interest to join with the Central Powers. The fact that two German cruisers from Messina escaped the British patrol in the Mediterranean and got through the Dardanelles to the Black Sea at the opening of conflict was of big effect. Had the British pursued and captured them possibly Turkey would have been kept from uniting with Germany and access to Russia by the Western Powers would have been maintained.

In November, 1914, occurred a naval disaster at Coronel off the coast of Chile. Admiral Craddock with four

armoured vessels of inferior type dared attack Admiral von Spee's squadron of five first rate cruisers. In the combat Craddock, 1600 men and three ships were lost. But on December 6 following the English got vengeance. Admiral Sturdee with seven powerful ships was despatched to engage von Spee. He found the squadron near the Falkland Islands and in a running battle sent von Spee and four of his ships to the bottom.

To British arms during this war must be credited not a few great achievements. The holding of a good long section of that three hundred mile line of entrenchments extending from the sea to Switzerland year in and year out; the noble five days' struggle in the Second Battle of Ypres (April 22, 1915) when the Germans in their savage thrust to take Calais, throwing international law to the winds in making use of poison gas were blocked by the unyielding Canadians though losing one in three of their men; the relief of Verdun in the First Battle of the Somme (July 1–November 17, 1916) where the soil was mixed with the blood of nearly a million men killed or wounded; and where the forces under General Haig, though suffering the first day a loss of 50,000, steadily fought on and on until they had ousted the Germans from their perfected entrenchments and with their armored land cruisers the "tanks" put the enemy on the defensive and set a new pace in the strife, especially in dealing with trenches and barbed wire entanglements; the bold taking of Vimy Ridge (April 9, 1917) by the Canadians that secured control of a district of Northern France rich in coal; the capture of 50,000 prisoners and immense stores of munitions in several attacks along with the French in the late spring of 1917 and the breaking through the Hindenburg line at one place; the valor

displayed in the battle of Picardy (March 21–April 1) where the British though outnumbered three to one held back the German hosts until, with the arrival of French troops, they thwarted the enemy in his plans to capture Amiens, reach a highway to Paris and drive a wedge between the British and French armies; the barring the way to the Channel Ports in the battle fought in Flanders near the cities of Ypres and Arras when an overwhelming force moved forward April 9, 1918, against the British, pressing them on until they had to fight with the desperation of an animal at bay; and their heavy blows at Montdidier (August 8, 1918) and smashing of the Hindenburg line, a part of the final overwhelming Allied offensive launched by General Foch when the French attacked at Soissons and the Americans took the St. Mihiel Salient and cleared the Argonne Forest; the retaking after an earlier defeat, of Kut-el-Amara, the capture of the City of Bagdad (March 11) and occupation of the Euphrates valley which defeated the German Berlin-Bagdad railway scheme; the taking of Jaffa, the seaport of Jerusalem, and the capture of the Holy City (December 10) by General Allenby who had to storm the Turkish positions. In accounting for the collapse of the German defense the stubborn, valorous Briton must be remembered along with the masterful strategist, Foch, the fresh American army of 1,500,000, and the spirited French.

Naval battles were few. On August 24, 1914, occurred the Battle of Heligoland Bight, when a part of the German fleet attacked some British patrol vessels. Four fast battleships rushed to the aid of the scout ships and succeeded in sinking three cruisers and two destroyers of the enemy. On January 24, 1915, Admiral Beatty in

the Battle of Dogger Bank sank the *Blücher* and badly battered two other German cruisers that were attempting to raid the English coast. On May 31, 1916, in the Battle of Jutland—the one great sea-fight of the war—the German fleet handled very roughly Admiral Beatty's squadron of light armored cruisers. Admiral Beatty stuck to the unequal contest until the British Grand Fleet under Admiral Jellicoe arrived. But when Admiral Jellicoe approached near nightfall the German ships managed to escape in the darkness and mists back to their mine-protected bases. The British lost three battle cruisers and fifteen other vessels. The Germans proclaimed it a victory; but since they had failed in their purposes to break through the blockade and to destroy England's naval superiority, since their losses were fully as great as the English losses, since the crews of the German ships lost heart for such war and since the next day the British vessels were out picking up survivors and courting further fighting while the German fleet never dared come out of their havens again, the British were actually the victors.

The services of the British Navy in this war cannot be overestimated. It kept bottled up the German fleet; it hunted down the German raiders preying on commerce; it laid the mine fields furnishing coast protection; it maintained the blockade of German ports cutting off food supplies and needed raw materials; it prevented the home return and entrance into the army of many thousands of German subjects abroad; it furnished safe convoy for transports laden with food, fuel, ammunition, army supplies and troops along the sea routes from England, the Dominions and America to France; it kept its trawlers busy in mine sweeping; it overcame in time the destruc-

tive submarines, being able with depth bombs and other inventions to destroy them as fast as they were built; and it kept vigil in fair weather and foul, in storm or calm, winter's cold or summer's heat, incurring dangers from torpedo or hidden mine but seeing to it that the enemy did not close the sea lanes of communication. Terrible were the losses at sea when the unrestricted submarine warfare was begun in February, 1917. In a two weeks' period 106 vessels were sunk, three-fourths of which were ships of over 1600 tons. Over 7,500,000 tons of merchant shipping was lost by England during the war; but the greatest part of the loss was covered by building new ships and capturing enemy vessels.

The Germans would have won the war, so the story goes, if the Belgians had not blocked their progress for ten days which allowed the French to better prepare and to rearrange their line of defence; or if the French had lost the First Battle of the Marne; or if the defenders of the Channel Ports or of Verdun had yielded; or if the Americans had not come to save the day; but whether these are true assertions or not one thing cannot be denied, without the British Navy there could have been no victory.

Great Britain won much from the war. Added to her widespread possessions were Palestine, Mesopotamia, the Pacific Islands south of the equator formerly held by Germany, parts of Kamerun and Togoland, German East Africa and German Southwest Africa. Her prestige was enhanced. Germany no more than Spain, or Holland, or France could challenge successfully her colonial or maritime supremacy. With her Cape to Cairo railway, her Suez Canal and her protectorate over Persia she could dominate commercial and political policy over the better

part of Africa and rich portions of Asia. A chief artificer of the Versailles Treaty and of the League of Nations Covenant and the foremost member of the League, the nation waxes constantly greater in influence and power, directing Europe in the ways of law, justice and peace.

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CHAPTER XVIII

LEGISLATIVE BY-PRODUCTS OF THE WAR AND RECENT TENDENCIES

The Franchise Act of 1918 added 8,000,000 voters to the electorate, including 6,000,000 women. Whereas in 1832 only 1 in 24 of the population could vote, and in 1884 1 in 7, now the ratio is 1 in 3. The franchise was given to all men over twenty-one with fixed residence or place of business for six months and to all women over thirty who had already the right to vote in local elections by reason of a six months' ownership or tenancy of property or who were the wives of men so qualified. It did away with plural voting practically. The law enlarged the House of Commons from 670 to 707. England was given 492 members, Wales 36, Scotland 74, and Ireland 105.

The Act for disestablishing and disendowing the Church in Wales, passed in 1914, went into effect on March 31, 1920. Wales was made a separate Archbishopric.

The Education Act of 1918 compelled regular full-time attendance at school of all children between the ages of five and fourteen. Between the ages of fourteen and eighteen part time attendance is required at properly organized continuation schools. Employers who engage pupils attending continuation schools must release them in time to allow for cleaning up, making themselves tidy, and getting meals. Children under twelve cannot be law-

fully employed in industry at all, nor may children between twelve and the school-leaving age be employed after school hours. "They may never work before six o'clock in the morning or after eight o'clock at night, or for more than two hours on Sunday." ¹ The expense of the educational system was divided about equally between the central and local governments.

In 1915 a Liquor Control Board was set up which limited the sale of drink to a few specified hours each day, and which greatly reduced the alcoholic strength of beer and other spirituous liquors.

The voluntary Joint Standing Industrial Councils set up in 1917 are not unlike the Trade Boards. They are not governmental bodies nor are their decisions enforceable at law. They are permanent bodies of representatives of both capital and labor within an industry. They are composed of representatives of both Employers' Associations and Trades Unions who meet regularly to discuss their differences, remove grievances, beset amelioration, arrive at better mutual understanding and forestall quarrels and strikes. The Corn Production Act (1917) dealt with farmers' profits and farm laborers' wages. It guaranteed a minimum price per quarter for wheat and for oats payable by the state up until 1922 and it set up an Agricultural Wages Board for fixing remuneration for farm labor. It fixed "the minimum hours of work at fifty-four per week in the summer and forty-eight in winter, and provided for a Saturday half-holiday, and for overtime rates of pay increased by 25 per cent on the legal rate for week days and by 50 per cent for Sunday work." ²

The war struggle modified radically public sentiment and policy as regards the tariff. In 1917 a government

committee on commercial and industrial policy, headed by a former free trader, recommended "(1) taking of special steps to stimulate . . . the production of food stuffs and raw materials and manufactured articles; (2) the adoption of Colonial Preference; and (3) the establishment of a wider range of customs duties." ³ Protection in England today is not so much an economic as a political question. Its purpose is not commercial profit chiefly but national self-sufficiency and imperial defense. War experiences have put an end possibly for good and all to England's free trade policy. In the present era of increasing international relationships protective duties are considered not so much with reference to their effects on labor and industry as on State and Empire.

A new settlement has been attempted for Ireland. During the war (April, 1916) Sir Roger Casement and Irish radicals supported by Germans and receiving financial aid from Irish Americans rose in revolt, unfurled their flag over the Dublin Post Office, and proclaimed Patrick Pearse "Provisional President of the Irish Republic." For several days there was fierce fighting and many were killed and wounded in Dublin. Property to the amount of 10,000,000 pounds was destroyed. But as the Germans failed to send over the arms and munitions and to make the attack on the East coast of England, as expected, the British poured 40,000 troops into Ireland and quickly suppressed the rebellion. Casement was executed as a traitor, Pearse and six of the leaders were shot, and fifty or more imprisoned for life. But the struggle for independence lived on none the less. Eamon de Valera was later elected by the Sinn Feiners (We Ourselves) President of the Irish Republic. In the general parliamentary election held in December, 1918, the

Sinn Feiners captured 73 of the constituencies while the Unionists got 25 and the Nationalists only 7. None of the Sinn Feiners took their seats at Westminster but assembled in Dublin as the Irish Republican Parliament which the majority of the people of Southern Ireland regarded as their lawful government, England's orders to the contrary notwithstanding. Supporting the republicans were labor groups of syndicalistic and socialistic thought and members of the Gaelic League who were proud of Ireland's ancient literature and long-lived nationalistic spirit. For a year and more intermittent guerilla warfare went on between the British and Sinn Fein forces with much destruction of life and property and with cruel reprisals.

To bring peace Lloyd George first tried to get a basis of settlement through a convention held in 1917 to which representatives from all the various Irish parties were invited. Sir Horace Plunkett, a man thoroughly acquainted with Irish affairs and devoted to Ireland's interest, presided over the Convention, the busy sessions of which continued for nine long months (July, 1917–April, 1918). But as the Sinn Feiners would not attend at all since the question of independence was forbidden to be discussed; and the Protestant Ulsterites, who sent delegates, refused to join in any sort of an all-Ireland Parliament little headway was made. The Prime Minister then (December, 1920) presented a new Government of Ireland Act. Its novel feature was the establishment of two bi-cameral parliaments—one in Belfast for the six northern counties, and one in Dublin for the rest of Ireland—and of a Council of Ireland composed of a President, an appointee of the King, and two delegations numbering twenty each from the two Parliaments. Power

was given the two Parliaments to substitute, if they should later desire so to do, for the Council of Ireland a Parliament for the whole of Ireland consisting of one or two houses. Executive power in each area remained with the King who might exercise it through an appointed Lord Lieutenant. Ireland was still to have forty-two representatives in the English Parliament. As to the judiciary, there was to be a separate system of courts for each area with one Supreme Court of Appeals for all Ireland. Toward Imperial Expenditure Northern Ireland was to contribute 44 per cent, Southern Ireland 66 per cent. Reserved powers were about the same as those named in the Act of 1914.

Neither Northern nor Southern Ireland was pleased with the proposal and for awhile held aloof. But eventually Ulster with patriotic loyalty accepted the plan and set up her government with Sir James Craig as Prime Minister. On June 22, 1921, the King and Queen formally opened the Ulster Parliament. "I appeal," said King George, "to all Irishmen to stretch out the hand of forbearance and conciliation, to forgive and to forget." With contrary Southern Ireland Lloyd George labored with infinite patience and persistence, holding parleys with de Valera and other representatives and negotiating meanwhile with Sir James Craig in an effort to accommodate differences. For months no progress seemed making but finally it was announced at 2:30 A.M. December 6 that an agreement by treaty had been reached to declare Ireland a Free State within the British Empire, like the Dominion of Canada, Ulster being given the option to join in the new state or to keep her separate status. Michael Collins was made Provisional President of the Free State, though he did not have the sup-

port of de Valera and his many disciples who still seemed ready to fight for an independent republic. Should civil war occur between the Free State and the Republicans of Southern Ireland it will be brutal and bloody.

The Government of India Act of 1918 is liberal in tendency. The declared policy of Parliament is to provide "the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration, and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire.' In March, 1921, the Egyptian Government was invited to discuss with the British Government the possible substitution of the present English protectorate by a new political relationship which while securing Great Britain's interests would better satisfy Egypt's desire for a greater autonomy. It may result that Egypt's relation to England will be like that of Cuba to the United States.

Constructive imperialism has been strengthened by the war. Previous to 1914 this subject was quite prominent in political writings and discussions. The increasing cost of defending the widely scattered dominions and dependencies of the vast Empire led some to the belief that the component parts of the Empire should be represented in an Imperial Council of State, and that these parts should have a voice in laying taxes for imperial purposes and should support the Imperial Exchequer. The Colonies were naturally averse to paying into the British National treasury large contributions for Imperial defence, over the spending of which they had no control. No workable imperial government could be set up unless both Great Britain and the Colonies should place imperial above local interests. An "Imperial defence based upon

Imperial) means could be organized only if the nucleus of an Imperial Cabinet, with an Imperial Navy Board, an Imperial Exchequer, and an Imperial Senate, representing the whole Empire, be created." ⁴ Up to 1917 only Imperial Conferences had been held, but in March of that year under pressure of war was formed the Imperial War Cabinet, composed of the Prime Ministers of Canada, South Africa, New Zealand and Newfoundland, and the Secretary of State for India, the British Prime Minister and members of his War Cabinet. The Prime Ministers met as equals, and each nation thus had its share in directing governmental policy. In 1918 was held a second session of the Imperial War Cabinet, and it was decided that for the future the Prime Ministers as members of this Cabinet should have the right of direct communication with the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and each dominion Prime Minister was given the right to nominate a Cabinet Minister, one residing in or visiting London, to represent him at meetings of the Cabinet held between the plenary sessions. In 1921 was assembled in London an important conference between the Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom, South African Union, Australian Commonwealth, Canada and New Zealand along with delegates from India to formulate a common foreign policy. It was not without effect on the non-renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Some day England may yet evolve an imperial mechanism of rule. Who can say that the Colonial Conferences of the future will not be invested with executive functions, and that at some day there may not be assembled in London a true Imperial Parliament in which representatives from the home land and colonies shall legislate on equal footing side by side?

With the coming of peace, the organization of government had of course to be put back again on its pre-war basis. The Cabinet has been reduced to twenty members. Two new ministries have been created, the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Transport. Some needed social legislation, such as the Housing Bill, has been enacted, and the big strikes of the railway men, miners and transport workers—"The Triple Alliance"—have been successfully handled.

Partly as results of the Great War and partly as results of forces active for some decades past, several new conditions and tendencies are found in the life of Great Britain today. Democracy has come to full expression, adult suffrage including women being had. Socially the classes have been led to understand and appreciate better one another. They have been forced to get together and do a common task, to fight a foe threatening their very life. The rich and well-placed are more ready than formerly to consider the problems and demands of the less fortunate. Capital and labor are recognizing the sanity and necessity of substituting frank counsel and loyal cooperation for suspicion and conflict. "Many employers have come to know that in some form or other Labor must be made a partner, not a nominal partner in the patronizing way which means five or ten pounds at Christmas should the proprietor have made a million during the year, but a real partnership on which above a certain minimum a man's earnings expand with the prosperity of the business. Busy minds are working on schemes and some of them will come to fruition before long." 5

Political parties are experiencing change. The old Conservatives are becoming more liberal, and the old Lib-

erals more radical and socialistic. Labor has placed its representatives in the Cabinet and elected a third of the members of the House of Commons. This augurs constitutional change. The House of Commons may acquire still greater weight in England's system of government than it has today. Democracy may some day make the House of Lords an elective body. The extension of the franchise has been accompanied by a system of universal compulsory education. Though the working men are gaining influence in politics and government, England will have no soviet system of rule, no dictatorship of the proletariat. National welfare, not pampering labor, will be the end in legislation. Equality before the law, not preferential treatment of a class, is the British laborer's demand. Trade unionism will experience modifications. Arbitrary laws that have lessened national production, such as exclusion of willing and capable workmen, limiting the number of apprentices, prohibiting women in certain occupations, unreasonable limitation of hours and output will eventually be set aside. The desire and purpose to aid by law as far as it is possible to do so in giving to every one who will work a decent living, including a little leisure for self-culture, carries with it the demand that the greatest possible production must be had in every line. All must do their best in the interest of national welfare in peace times as all did their best in order to win the war. The whole community suffers as does individual character when men trifle at their tasks. While *laissez faire* has been giving way to collectivism and state interference in some fields, the system of Government control in industry has not been especially strengthened by war experiences. The people have become tired of "bureaucracy."

Woman's influence in politics will probably strengthen the temperance cause through more restrictive interference with the sale of intoxicants. The fact that the war has left England with a million more women than men is significant. The first woman to win a seat in the House of Commons was Lady Astor, formerly Miss Nannie Langhorne, an American girl born and reared in the State of Virginia.

England is full of vision to make this world a better world. England stands at the head of a group of free commonwealths. Justice, peace and economic prosperity she desires and labors for in her dependencies and protectorates. National animosities and racial jealousies she would lessen. Law, self-government, toleration belong to her genius. She is not afraid of responsibilities and dares to assume mandates. She has entered the League of Nations with high resolve and having put her hand to the plough she does not look backward as she leads onward to a better international order.

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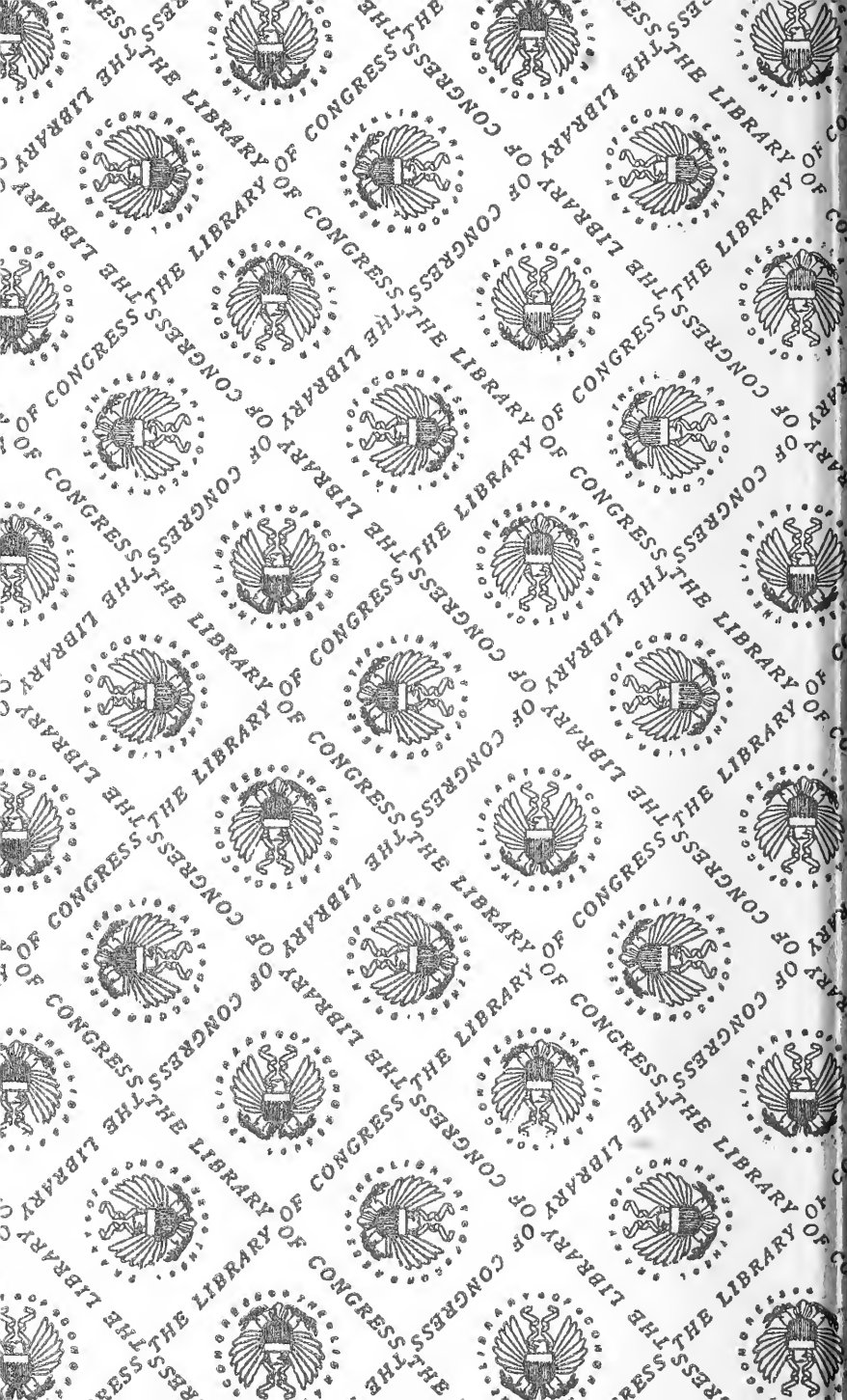
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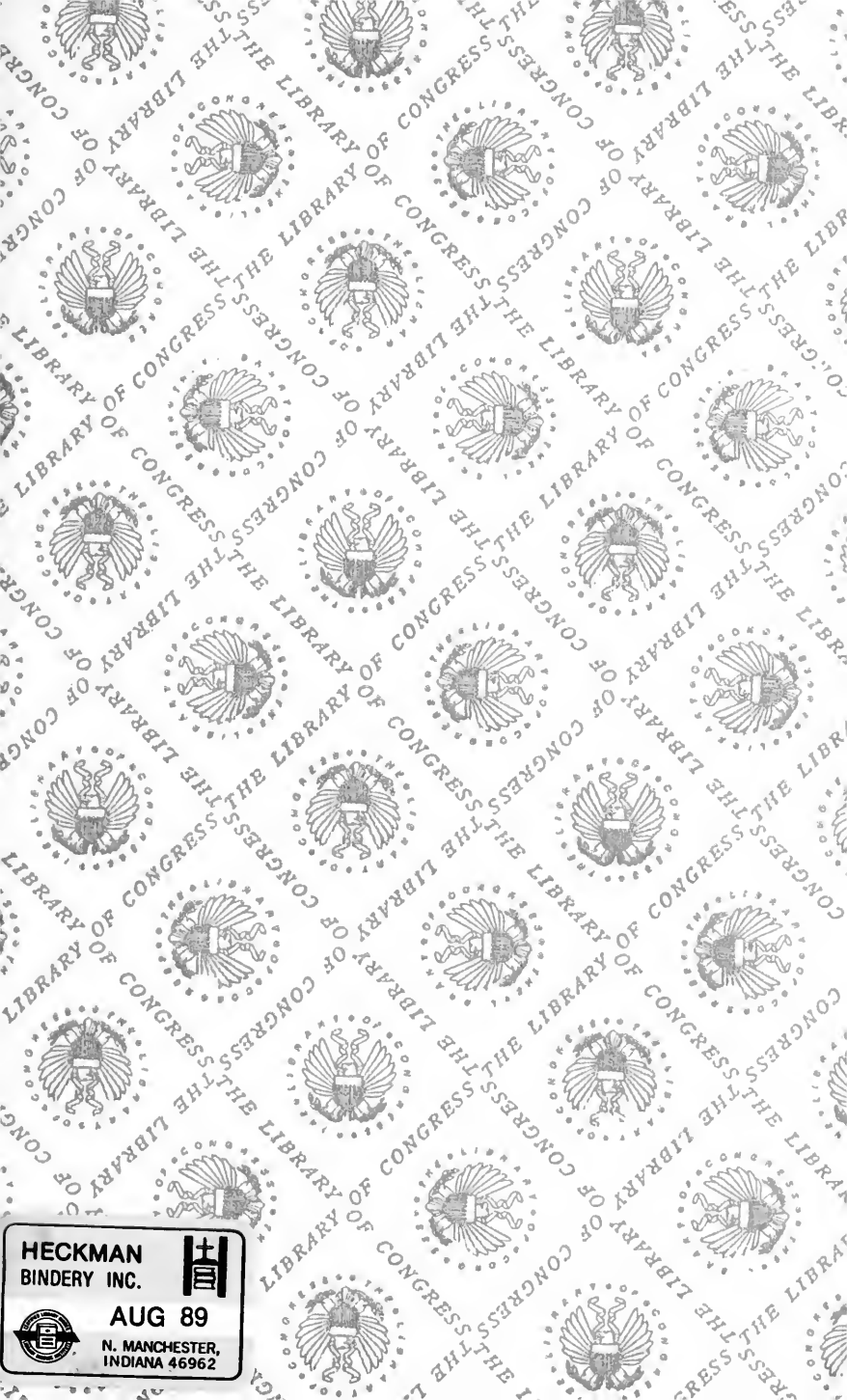
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